MODERN ELOQUENCE

VOLUME NINE

MASTERPIECES

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FOUNDED BY THOMAS B. REED

VOLUME NINE - MASTERPIECES

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PREFACE

Although the title "Masterpieces of Oratory" might well have been applied to many of the notable speeches contained in the earlier volumes, the term has special application to the addresses in Volumes IX, X, and XI of "Modern Eloquence." In the preceding volumes in the collections of after-dinner speeches, occasional addresses and famous lectures, there has been little opportunity for political speeches, whether made before legislative bodies or public meetings. These have been reserved for Volumes IX, X, and XI. They represent the most remarkable efforts of our great orators, they deal with the most important public affairs for over a century, and they amply justify a claim to the title "Masterpieces of Oratory."

The speeches are grouped in the three volumes after the following plan:

Volume IX contains the chief European speeches from about 1776 up to the outbreak of the World War. These are prefaced by a survey of orations in past times.

Volume X is devoted to American speeches from the Revolutionary War down to the World War.

Volume XI is both national and international, containing the great speeches made in connection with the World War and with subsequent events.

Volume IX on European Masterpieces of Oratory begins with a survey of oratory of the past. Since over 2000 years are covered in this survey, only a few examples can be given, but these examples and extracts serve to illustrate various conditions for oratory in Greece, in Rome, during the Middle Ages, during the Reformation and during the rise of Parliamentary debate. The speeches in this survey also illustrate various kinds of oratory. There are political speeches, sermons, eulogies, and philosophical addresses. The enormous part that eloquence has played in human affairs is at least sug-

gested by the famous examples from Pericles to Jonathan Edwards. This survey also serves as an introduction to the examples of modern eloquence and connects the art of oratory in the past with its notable display in the great Parliamentary discussions in England, France and the United States at the close of the Eighteenth Century. The remaining three hundred pages of the volume present European oratory from the time of the Declaration of Independence down to the outbreak of the World War. The speeches are arranged roughly in chronological order but are grouped so as to show their connection with important public events and discussions.

First comes the group of the great English Parliamentary orators, including Chatham, Burke, Fox, Pitt and Sheridan. Their speeches deal with the chief issues before the English Government over a period of fifty years. The struggle of the American Colonies for independence is discussed in orations by Chatham and Burke. The impeachment of Warren Hastings, conqueror of India, for malfeasance in office is represented by the orations of Burke and Sheridan. The effect of the French Revolution on one class of Englishmen finds utterance in a famous passage from Burke. Napoleonic Wars and the long struggle of England against the Emperor are touched upon in speeches of Pitt and Fox. The defense of Emmet marks the failure of the struggle for Irish independence assisted by the French. The downfall of Napoleon is celebrated in the oration by Canning.

The next group represents the French Revolution and the succeeding wars of Napoleon. Mirabeau, Danton and Robespierre, successful leaders of the Revolution, are represented in strikingly characteristic orations. Then follow the remarkable speeches of Napoleon to his soldiers.

After Waterloo, the great subjects which aroused discussion in England for fifty years were the Reform Bill and the repeal of the Corn Laws. Macaulay's speech aided the passage of the Reform Bill in Parliament, and the address by Cobden illustrates the debate over free trade.

For a half century or more after Waterloo, Europe was agitated by struggles for liberty on the part of various nations. In this volume O'Connell is the spokesman for Ireland, Mazzini for Italy, and Castelar for Spain.

In England as in other nations a change was taking place in political oratory. The great masters no longer confine their efforts to Parliament, but speak before enormous public assemblies. O'Connell's address to a vast multitude is an illustration of this, as are the campaign speeches of Disraeli and Gladstone. Subjects which chiefly occupied public discussion also appear in John Bright's address in behalf of the North at the time of the Civil War, in Lord Salisbury's condemnation of the failure of the government to relieve General Gordon, and in Lloyd George's speech on the budget.

The fifty years before the World War produced many notable orators. Gambetta, the founder of the French Republic, appears in his speech to delegates from Alsace, lost to the Germans in 1871. Bismarck speaks on armaments and militarism. Socialism is represented by Bebel, the leader of the socialist party in Germany, and in the famous debate in the French assembly between Jaurès and Clemenceau.

It is true that this volume is of necessity confined largely to political speeches. Pulpit orators, however, are well represented in the earlier volumes, where will also be found the addresses of eloquent representatives of the bar, education, literature and science; but the present volume includes not only most of the famous orators from Chatham to Lloyd George, from Mirabeau to Clemenceau, but also the utterances on the great public questions which were the main incentives to eloquence from the American Revolution to the World War.

INTRODUCTION

THE HISTORY OF ORATORY

LORENZO SEARS

EVERY art has its own history. Painting, sculpture, music, the drama, each has its story of cultivation and growth, of prosperity and decline, of revival and large attainment. From crude efforts to masterly achievement the records of failure and success have been unearthed and set in order by diligent research and methodical portrayal. There is no reason why the art of public address which the ancients called the art of arts, should not be similarly favored.

Its beginnings are remote, doubtless prehistoric. In primeval empires the speech of leaders of men to their fellows must have accompanied movements in war and public acts in peace. As soon as literature catches and records the ongoings of the social and political state, oratory appears as a part of military and civic affairs. Herodotus, the earliest of historians, imputes to generals speeches of which he must have heard the like, and Thucydides follows his example. Both of them acknowledge their indebtedness to Homer who, gathering up the traditions of an earlier Epos, makes his greatest hero his most eloquent orator in the Iliad, as in the Odyssey the protagonist is next in the art of persuasive speech. Contemporary accounts in the Hebrew Scriptures abound in allusions to primeval addresses and contain voluminous records of later examples in exhortations and denunciations by the prophets.

When pristine poetry took on a dramatic form interlocutory speech grew at length into longer address to the audience, directly or indirectly, until oratory came to be a large factor and finally predominated in the play, as it eventually became its rival with a listening assembly.

It was inevitable that public speaking should pass from the sphere of entertainment into that of usefulness, and from the literary contest come to be employed in adjusting claims, settling disputes, and establishing the rights of property and person. Accordingly it is found at an early day in the courts of justice which mark the advance of civil government. The theory which prevailed in them, to the effect that every citizen should be his own advocate, was at first of such a practical character. But many persons would be drawn into litigation who had not the knowledge and ability to defend their causes. For this reason it was that in the Greek city of Syracuse in the fifth century B. C. one Corax attempted to instruct the private citizen how to urge his claim before a tribunal in that age of reconstruction which followed the deposition of the tyrant Thrasybulus. The principles which this pioneer instructor enunciated were those which have prevailed ever since in one form or another in all forensic oratory.

The Proem or opening, the Narration or statement of the facts in the case, the Argument or induction from the facts, the Subsidiary Remarks gathering up auxiliary and additional reasons, and the Peroration or persuasive and convincing close to the whole are not far from the successive steps in the progress of a formal argument in the courts of the present day.

The success which attended the instruction of citizen lawyers must have been indifferent, for a class of speech-writers soon sprung up who furnished professional arguments to the unprofessional pleader of his own cause. These briefs were somewhat stereotyped in form at first, but appear to have been accepted with such slight variations only as were incident to specific cases in a wholesale confiscation of estates which were to be restored to their former owners or their heirs. Later the speech-writer Lysias adapted his compositions to the character of the man who was to deliver them as his own, and wrote them, according to the terminology of the day, in the grand, middle, or plain style to fit the manner of the nobleman, the merchant or the artisan who was to pronounce the argument before the judges. It was a singular custom, this pleading one's cause in the words of another, but not so strange to that generation as our custom of leaving every-

thing to the advocate would have been. At any rate the fact that out of the two hundred and thirty-three arguments which Lysias wrote for his clients only two failed to secure a favorable verdict shows that these forensics were both effective and profitable. And from the commendation which Cicero bestowed upon their style as lucid and direct, graceful and entertaining, varied and dignified, it may be concluded that the "logographers" had advanced the art of oratory by careful use of the pen.

The greatest of them, Isocrates, brought the art to perfection. Unfitted by weakness of voice to speak in the courts and the assembly, he devoted his natural talent for eloquence to the instruction of pupils who came to his school at Athens from near and far. In it the great orators of all Greece were trained. Not merely in rhetorical rules and precepts, but also in dealing with the questions of the day, and in principles and policies which lay outside municipal affairs. His themes as well as his style and diction were exalted. He gave such a noble impress to literary prose in his time that the tradition of it lived on for centuries, not only in his own language but in the best oratory of the Latin race. As an instructor of his own countrymen, and as an indication of the esteem in which his art was held it may be remarked by the way, that his annual income from tuition amounted to the present money value of $50,000 a revenue which he pieced out with an occasional $40,000 oration sold to royalty for its reading. This, however, might be the labor of ten years, and his Eulogy on Athens was being revised and perfected by its author at the age of ninety-nine.

When an art receives such attention remarkable results may be expected. In this instance it was natural that a group of orators should spring up who would raise the standard of eloquence to an exalted height. This was accomplished in particular by a company of orators who won the preëminent distinction of being called the Attic Ten. Each in his own manner contributed to the art features which made a totality as perfect as a statue whose completeness has been derived from many sources. Andocides brought the freedom which belongs to a natural orator for whom rhetorical study would have added graces to native ability; a primitive orator, simple

in his methods, plain in his speech, sometimes homely and rough, but withal vigorous and strong, vivid in argument and abundant in illustration, with just enough self-conceit to prevent his natural defects from being embarrassing to himself. Isæus contributed graphic narration and a movement which was adapted to the occasion and circumstances of which he is speaking. Earnestness and energy, animation and vivacity mark his utterances even in the printed text which has been transmitted through twenty-three centuries. With a general's skill he assaults his opponent's weakest point, marshals his arguments in the most effective order, and masses the entire weight of his speech in a cumulative conclusion. He was a great orator standing alone, and would have been accounted a still greater had it not been that Demosthenes was his pupil, destined to surpass him and the rest of the illustrious company. One and all these furnished their countrymen excellencies to study and imitate until no trait of eloquence was unrepresented. Together they set forth its every phase and illustrate a marvelous period in the high art of public discourse, showing that excellence is not the exclusive prerogative of any single method and form, but that each one's natural ability and manner improved by study is the best method for him. It was best for Pericles to be majestic and restrained, for Antiphon to be grave and stately, for Lysias to be plain and versatile, for Isocrates to be elegant and artistic, for Andocides to be inartificial and self-confident, for Isæus to be vigorous and intense, for Lycurgus to be impressive by his earnestness, as Hyperides was interesting by his graces, and Æschines powerful in his vehement impetuosity. To one man only was it given to combine at will more of the endowments of the others and of all his predecessors with his own native gifts, and to represent, as far as one example could, the lofty attainments and culmination of Hellenic eloquence in the Fifth century before our era. That man was Demosthenes.

The son of a prosperous cutler, left an orphan at seven with an inheritance to be misappropriated and squandered by guardians, the youth had the strongest of incentives toward forensic oratory in order to prosecute the trustees who had defrauded him. He had secured an education suitable to his

position before coming of age and obtaining possession of his diminished inheritance. This literary training, including the elements of oratory, was to be his capital with which to start in life. As in many similar instances, it was worth more than the fortune which he ought to have received—thirty-five talents, equivalent to about as many thousand dollars. With the help of his instructor Isæus he began his professional career by bringing action against one of the embezzlers and winning his case, although he got less damages than reputation out of the proceedings in the end. The same practical demands of justice made a successful advocate of him as of the early pleaders in the Sicilian courts. But that there was an ambition beyond this first success is shown by the familiar account of inaptitudes and obstacles which he overcame with ceaseless effort. Without strength, confidence, or wind, with a voice weak, and ill-managed, a manner clumsy and an articulation defective, his first appearance evoked derisive and uproarious laughter. But like a few since his day similarly greeted, he determined to be heard later. Hence the pebbles and the mirror and declamation and running by the resounding shore. Also the study of law and politics, history and finance, by day and by night with one great purpose always before him of rousing a patriotism which he deemed not extinct but slumbering in his beloved Athens. Insisting upon her responsibility as leader of other Hellenic states, and that honor and justice rather than what is pleasant, easy, and profitable should be the controlling motive he endeavored to lift her citizens up to a national view of a common danger and the need of a pan-Hellenic unity.

To this comprehensive patriotism as the moral basis of his oratory he added, at length, qualities of eloquence which were the result of slow, careful, and painstaking toil, preparatory to entrance upon public life and of unremitting labor during all its active years. He was not ashamed of the smell of the lamp, nor did he, like many modern speakers, mistake extemporization for inspiration. Everything was finished beforehand. There was no needless word, no obscure profundity, no unintelligible allusion. Terse yet clear, simple yet forcible, his manner appealed to Athenians in his own time, and in all time to those whose standards of taste are

of Attic severity. And yet his style is not stately and formal. Vivacity alternates with dignity in his periods, popular idiom with artistic expression, and homely similes with vivid metaphors. Above all, he never loses sight of his subject and of the single purpose he has in discoursing about it. Neither does he allow his hearers to lose sight of his topic, for before they became weary of one phase of it he presents another more attractive still. By this endless variety of adaptation to occasion and circumstance, to the hour and the audience, he enrolls himself among the geniuses in all time who have been able to go out of themselves and be masters of their opportunity.

Therefore he became a leader of men and for a time the supreme director of affairs. His eloquence terminated in action. Pitted against the resources of an absolute monarch and the indifference of a heedless age, which he succeeded in arousing too late, he went down in the general ruin. But his fame survives as that of the most eloquent orator in the ancient world. At this distance and under modern conditions it may not be easy to explain the secret of his power. On the other hand, it is not possible to deny the testimony of contemporaries nor to invalidate the uniform tradition of his skill in the art of communicating thoughts and emotions from a man to his fellow men.

This art had been practiced for a century among Hellenic people and taught with varying methods. It was time to construct a science of public speaking from the best that several orators of distinction had illustrated by their practice. The man to formulate such a system was Aristotle, the great analyst of the time. Apart from his philosophic disposition he was eminently fitted for constructing an orderly scheme of rhetorical principles. Plato's favorite pupil for seventeen years, learned in all the wisdom of his age, he took up the science of thought and its utterance as a part of the universal knowledge over whose domain his mighty intellect roamed freely and largely. He found that a few general principles could be applied to the almost uniform action of thought and speech, and from the best methods rules might be derived by which learners could attain reasonable success and avoid fatal blunders.

Starting with a broad definition of the rights and powers of rhetoric as prince of all the provinces of literature, he ramifies from this trunk proposition into branches and stems and twigs in the logical development of his subject. He lays greater emphasis upon proofs than upon appeals to affections and emotions, as became his own scientific temperament; but he is not without due respect for the place which these emotions occupy when persuasion needs to follow conviction. His division of public address into deliberative, relating to the future; judicial, relating to the past; and demonstrative, relating to the present, with ends and purposes belonging to each, as well as the kinds of oratory belonging to each, is an example in outline of his logical treatment of one topic at the beginning of his book. Equally valuable is the practical discussion at the close of such matters as the Choice of Words, Similitudes, Purity of Language, of Things that Grace an Oration, and of the Things that Make an Oration Flat. Altogether the treatise, though not adapted to modern readers, is one which has anticipated most writings upon the rhetorical art from Aristotle's time to our own, and until recently has been the standard text-book on the subject in the universities of Europe.

Greek oratory after its climax in Demosthenes and with the decline of liberty came to be imitative and second-rate; the age of original and grand production being followed by critical tendencies as the genius of Athens yielded to that of Alexandria.

Roman oratory came slow and late to achievements that can be called classic. The Latin race was practical and unimaginative, and its early features of public speech were strong common sense, truthfulness, and the harsher emotions. Not until the conquest of Greece made Romans acquainted with Hellenic literature did their own efforts begin to have artistic values. Cato the Censor illustrated the vigorous speech of the earlier time. With a rude, unpolished style he combined clear statement, direct argument, striking illustration, and apt epithet. Abrupt, concise, witty, he spoke as if in a hand-to-hand contest with an adversary. A formidable accuser and powerful advocate, a lover of truth and of strife, hating conventionalism and despising rank, he is a representative Ro-

man of the sturdy sort. And his speech is like the man.

Scipio Africanus Minor stands for the transition age between the primitive oratory of the republic and the later Greek school which belongs to the empire. Vigor was not lost and refinement had begun to appear. He saw that truth was not marred by beauty, and that goodness need not be morose. With Sulpicius Galba theoretical principles of rhetoric were mingled with dramatic artifices intended to move the hearts of the judges, while Rutilius Rufus accomplished the same result by such an energetic manner as at the present day is confined to pugilists.

It was not until the Gracchi appeared that classical Roman oratory began, the restrained impressiveness of Tiberius and the splendid impetuosity of Caius exemplified two forms of eloquence which have marked its highest flights. Together these brothers inaugurated an easier and freer mode of speaking than their predecessors and opened a period of oratory which was distinguished by the names of Scævola, Curio, Fimbria, Sulpicius, and the greater ones of Antonius, Carasus, and Hortensius, Cicero's rival. Greek culture had begun to show its influence at Rome in the pathos of Antony, the elegance of Crassus, and the brilliance of Hortensius. Imported graces were added to native vigor until the crowning excellence of Roman oratory became possible in Marcus Tulius Cicero.

In the two hundred and eighty years since Greek eloquence was at its best, two modifications of it had sprung up; the Asiatic with its florid verbosity, and the Rhodian, a compromise between it and Attic severity. Cicero was sufficiently large-minded to discover that supreme excellence in every respect belongs to no single style exclusively, and that adaptation to the requirements of the audience and the occasion overrules all other laws. Accordingly after studying in the principal schools of Greece and Asia, he imitated none of them, but spoke at Rome as an accomplished Roman should address his own countrymen with whose disposition he was well acquainted. Order and method in discourse he knew would appeal to their tastes, as to his own; facts and proof with legitimate inferences followed by strong appeal to the moral sense of the judges were all in harmony with the sturdy character of the people with whom he dealt in the forum and

the Senate. This was the foundation of his discourse; but in the superstructure which he built was incorporated many a device intended to captivate the taste of a race by no means insensible to the refinements of art. Copious and flexible in his treatment, he turns his subject from side to side, enlarges where he chooses and conveniently slurs over uncongenial topics. He defines, expands, repeats, describes, diverts attention, anticipates objections, implores, inveighs, entreats, and execrates by turns, does anything and everything except allow his audience to miss his own view of the subject before them. They never did this through lack of words which were poured forth in unsparing plentitude, effective combination, and endless variety. Words sonorous and synonymous, polysyllabic and far-sounding were his special delight, suggesting the billows thundering along the shore. *"Ad evertandam rempublican, occidendum Milonem. Qui spe amplissimorum premiorum. Metu crudelissimorum."* With occasional verbosity went wealth and harmony of diction, solid argument, poetic imagination, philosophic sentiment, fervid declamation; all guided and controlled by a keen sense of what was demanded by the occasion and the mood of his hearers. By these means and others he came to be the greatest of the Latin orators, and to have his name linked with that of Demosthenes in his own and subsequent centuries. The two differed as men of two races differ in methods and manner, but they will always stand for the best achievement in two supreme periods of eloquence in the ancient world.

As there was a decline in oratory after Demosthenes, so a similar falling off occurred in the age following Cicero. When the impulse to great thoughts was removed with the departure of freedom attention was diverted to nicety of expression. Oratory narrowed its sphere to themes which were safe to discuss and labored with servile adulation of despots. Declaimers in rhetorical schools echoed sentiments which were out of fashion and composed empty exercises like Fronto's in "Praise of Dust and Smoke." A Celsus, Pliny, or Tacitus, might rise above the general level, but trivial subjects by subservient speakers became the rule. Quintilian, in the meantime, gathered up the principles which the best Roman orators had illustrated and wrote a rhetorical treatise as Aristotle

had for the Greeks. Another age of production had made way for one of comment, analysis, and criticism.

It was as late as the Second century of our era before eloquence revived in the oratory of the Greek and Latin fathers of the Christian Church. It had a character of its own, the outgrowth of the new faith which it defended and promulgated. Athanasius, Chrysostom, Basil, Diodorus, and the two Gregories, were the champions of Greek Christianity; Tertullian, Ambrose, Augustine, and Leo of the Latin. In many respects their eloquence deserves favorable comparison with that of the two classical periods already mentioned, and to it was added the loftier inspiration of a nobler faith and sincerer belief than the earlier orators possessed. If the latter lacked consummate art, their earnest motive and new message compensated for the loss of classic graces and met the demands of a higher plane in the spiritual life of mankind.

To this age of patristic eloquence succeeded one of writers on theology, canon law, philosophy, and tradition,—Isidore, Illdefonse, John of Damascus, and the rest—biographers, chroniclers, and commentators. When oratory is found at all it is in the pulpit. Paulinus of York is a voice in the wilderness, preaching to Druids so effectively that they destroy their idol temple, and the Venerable Bede keeps alive the spark of oratory as monastic preacher in the Seventh century. Boniface continues the direct and plain homiletic discourse adapted to a simple people in an ignorant time, and Damiani deals in mystic symbolism. A cloud of darkness gathers around the thousandth year with the general looking for the end of the world.

When the Eleventh century is well begun there are signs of a revival of learning in the rise of universities, while the masses are stirred to engage in the recovery of the holy sepulcher from the Moslem by the oratory of Peter of Picardy. After six hundred years of comparative silence moving eloquence is heard again. It is of a rude and primitive type, as the hearers were, but its appeals and ejaculations, its groaning and beating of the breast started five hundred thousand crusaders toward Palestine before the preacher was ready to conduct them. Demosthenes would have been flattered by such a moving of Europe against Asia. Uncouth as the

Hermit's eloquence was, it had the cardinal qualities of directness and sincerity with an abandon which told on an impulsive generation. Its success was its crown.

There were other orators in this century less eloquent but more learned. Anselm and Abelard, Ivo of Chartres and Bruno of Aste, Hildebert of Tours, and Guarric of Igniac, each had some excellence of his own. None, however, approached the Hermit of Amiens so near as Bernard of Clairvaux, whose power was exhibited in the contests between king and pope, prince and templar, anticipating Luther in Germany and Crammer in England, reconciling hereditary foes and hostile cities, and at length preaching a crusade which moved two great armies to the Holy Land. Only two or three contemporaries deserve mention with him. Anthony of Padua, Bonaventura, Albertus, and Thomas à Kempis, earnest but mystical preachers, were all forerunners of the eccentric oratory which seized the fancy and held the attention of Fifteenth century audiences as nothing else could. Mixtures of monkish Latin and the vernacular of every province, interlarded with pungent anecdote and scholastic quibbles and illustrations more striking than elegant, the sermons of monk and friar are freaks of popular address marking an age degenerate in several respects, yet not without its sincere and sober-minded preachers like Faber, Hartung, and De Barzia.

Among them all towers Savonarola, an earnest man in an age of indifferentism and debasement. Rough in manner and homely in diction, his words came from the sincerity of an honest heart. He used the language of the people and had profound sympathy for them. In the midst of the infamies of the house of Borgia, Savonarola inveighed against princes and clergy and prophesied of wrath to come. His predictions began to be fulfilled. Pope and prince died, and armies were pouring over the Alps. All eyes were turned toward him, all Italy rang with his name. Florence became a changed city, and all were amazed at the preacher's triumph. After his martyrdom they cherished his relics and invoked his aid as prophet and martyr. As an orator he had won a greater victory than the Hermit or Bernard because it was harder to accomplish.

The next great orator is the herald of the Reformation. Martin Luther, the scholastic, is also a preacher to the people.

Of stalwart form, full of energy and freedom, with penetrating voice and natural manner, in language clear and pungent, he spoke as a man of irrepressible convictions. His plain practical sense brought him into sympathy with men of every rank. Learned and logical, vivacious, witty, earnest, sincere, with a knowledge of men and command of himself, he was acknowledged as the prince of orators in his age. By his uncompromising speech he won spiritual liberty for himself and his people as the representative of the first enthusiasm of the German Reformation.

Of the later and calmer time Bucer and Calvin were exponents, greater with pen than tongue.

Hugh Latimer in England is a better popular preacher, discoursing on every subject that could be brought into a sermon, at one moment vehement as a Hebrew prophet, and the next illustrating a homely truth with drollery. He was the father of all outdoor preachers, sparing neither clown nor king. John Knox in Scotland was more violent still in his religious and political harangues, finally driving himself from Edinburgh by the bitter blasts of his trumpet against clergy and rulers.

The next outburst of oratory occurs in France, where conditions favorable to it had been maturing in a literature which had accumulated from the Eleventh century to the Seventeenth in song and romance, biography and history, finally merging in a prose adapted to eloquence. Bossuet was its earliest exemplar as the greatest preacher of his age. Born with natural gifts of speech, he won applause as a youth from courtly audiences without losing his head. He employed every means to cultivate his powers, studying the classics with the Hebrew prophets, and the elocution of celebrated actors, as well as the sermons of Chrysostom, Augustine, and Origen. Vigorous eloquence was joined to solid learning, and to helpfulness of the lowly was united stern denunciation of vice in a corrupt court.

Bourdaloue was his rival, especially in sound reasoning. His sermons were full of thought and instruction. He made his hearers think for themselves, and his logical discourse pleased them as much as the poetic imagery of Bossuet.

Massillon showed that there may be at least a third style

of eloquence in a single century. Graceful in diction, elegant in simplicity, sober in ornament, he appealed to those who admire harmonious speech without sensational devices and commonplace truisms. He addressed the hearts of his hearers, as his two compeers had spoken, the one to their understanding and the other to their imagination. Who was greatest in this kingdom of eloquence depended upon the occasion and the kind of listeners. The three together made the last half of the Seventeenth century a brilliant epoch in the history of public speech.

It was two centuries before anything to be compared with this period arose, and unlike it at that. In the first flush of victory the oratory of the French Revolution was a sudden and wild outburst of long and smothered passion. It was irregular and violent. Mirabeau, clear, positive, and logical at one time, vehement, fiery, and defiant at another, illustrates the spirit of his day when the storm was gathering. Danton is the voice in the whirlwind that followed. And so also with coercive or persuasive speech were Roland and Lanjuinais, Louvet and Barbaroux, Desmoulins and Varennes, Marat, and Robespierre. Nor was Bonaparte himself without the knowledge of what to say to an army, and how to speak so that a hearer remarked: "He speaks as if he stood on a mountain and was himself a hundred cubits high."

The orators of the Restoration rejoiced in a new liberty of speech. De Serre, versatile, forcible, and epigrammatic; Foy sensible, intelligent, and knowing his time; Constant, animated, imaginative, adaptive; Collard, erudite, elaborate, diffuse; Manuel, impassive, restrained, skillful; Lafayette, serious, reasonable, moderate; Barot, philosophic, reflective, imposing; Dupin, lively, rough, sarcastic; Lamartine, poetic, vivid, melodious; Guizot, lucid, guarded, exact; Thiers, voluble, airy, brilliant, a Frenchman of the French. With such diversified talent a variety of speech was produced which would hardly have been possible in any other nation and time full of wild theories and lofty visions of liberty but lacking the wisdom of experience.

A strong contrast in many respects was the parliamentary eloquence of Great Britain in the age of its Colonial extension and national supremacy, when the necessities of the

time bred great statesmen and deliberative orators. There had been famous speakers before, like Sir John Eliot, the Earl of Strafford, Lord Bellhaven, Walpole, and Chesterfield, but it was a group in the reign of George III that made that age conspicuous for its eloquence.

William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham, had devoted himself to rhetorical studies at Oxford and afterward with an assiduity worthy of his exemplar, Demosthenes, his remarkable natural gifts were cultivated with diligence. Back of the advantages of natural powers and graces and a high education lay his personal character with broad views, a sense of national honor as superior to temporary expedients, and an intense spirit of liberty. Added to these were the resources of persuasiveness, force, and severity according to his need. Simple and direct in the treatment of great themes, he made them luminous by proof, statement and illustration. Impetuous earnestness based upon deep conviction gave the force of truth to all that he uttered, while a vigorous imagination lent the crowning charm to his speech, which itself was in harmony with the eternal principles of righteousness.

Mansfield's education was similar, although his oratory was largely judicial. His statement of a case was better than most men's arguments. He led his hearers to conclusions which they supposed were reached by themselves. As in duty bound he was the King's lawyer and defender of the royal prerogative, but as our own Story said of him, "His name will be held in reverence by the good and wise, and his judgments studied as models of judicial reasoning and eloquence."

Edmund Burke as the advocate of American liberty had the advantage of an acquaintance with American affairs. The biblical training of his youth was supplemented by the study of poets and orators of antiquity, of Bacon and Milton, and the philosophy of history. Systematic thinking and well-digested reading with daily discussion gave a practical turn to views which might otherwise have been theoretic, and prepared him to enter upon a brilliant career. In spite of his lack of rank and wealth, his talents and devotion to popular rights won universal admiration and hearty support. Contemporaries of every party accorded him praise. Those with American sympathies could not commend enough his two great

speeches on conciliation. Their author took his place among the great makers of our literature in these high examples of deliberative eloquence which have had an abiding influence upon the oratory of this century. Wide in their compass of thought, prodigal in illustration, copious in allusion, they present a diversity of matter in a variety of lights with an ease and sublimity of expression which make them models of free, natural, and forcible speech. Energetic in diction, sonorous in long periods, pointed and vigorous in short sentences, Burke repeats without reiteration and expands without diffuseness. His originality, philosophic generalization, and profound reasoning make him an orator to be read with interest long after the issues he discussed have been settled.

Of Sheridan Byron said, "He has written the best comedy, the best drama, the best farce and delivered the very best oration ever heard in this country." Pitt and Fox were as enthusiastic over the first speech on the Begum charge, after which the House adjourned to collect their senses. In the second speech through three days his impulsive oratory bore his hearers away from their sober reason, stirring their emotions, and arousing the public conscience. More Asiatic than Attic in his style, more Celtic than Saxon in his manner, an actor as well as a speaker, audacious, good-humored, and witty, he took an audience by storm and forced a rival like Pitt to say that he "possessed everything that genius or art could furnish to agitate the human mind."

Fox was more of a Greek. Trained in the classics of history, poetry, oratory, and polite literature, he kept up his familiarity with these, which in turn gave him terseness of style and simplicity of taste with closeness and point in reasoning. Despite the one-sidedness of his elective studies, alternating with the bottle and the gaming-table, he came to himself at last and began to champion the cause of popular rights and to identify every man with the state. His ambition lay in the direction of debate. Argument was more to him than imagery, a ready knowledge of principles more than preparation, to win his case more than to overwhelm an audience. In consequence he became the acknowledged leader of his party in the House of Commons. His definition of an orator applies to himself: "One who can give immediate, instantaneous ut-

terance to his thoughts." Practical in understanding, definite in aim, honest and straightforward, emotional and sympathetic, using the strongest English, if not always the best, he won attention by the sincerity of his convictions and the vehemence of his speech. "The King's reign was," he said "the most infamous that ever disgraced a nation"; the American war "accursed, diabolical, and cruel"; the ministers "holding office at the option of reptiles who burrow under the throne."

There were other speakers who helped to make this last half of the Eighteenth century an age of surpassing eloquence, but those who have been mentioned must always stand as its best representatives.

American oratory in the colonial period may be considered as a part of the struggle between the colonists and the mother country. How far parliamentary speeches both provoked and inspired domestic efforts here may be difficult to determine, but probably more than other forms of literature in an age which had begun to be imitative. Speeches came across the ocean slowly, but they were read deliberately and passed from house to house, and had their formative influence upon political leaders. Soon a native literature of oratory appeared which compelled attention in the old world. The matter of it most concerned the Briton, but its style was often novel and picturesque. Its freedom and independence were alarming symptoms.

The radical speeches of Samuel Adams, sensible, clear, and logical, carried their point with many of his fellow citizens and stirred the wrath of the rest. He was a prophet of the coming disturbances and did much to foment them. Measured by what his oratory accomplished, it must be admitted that it was among the notable achievements of human speech.

Excelling him in oratorical reputation, James Otis was regarded in his day as the chief orator in the North of this period of discontent. There are traditions of the wild enthusiasm he aroused whenever he appeared, and of his bold and brilliant defense of colonial rights. In the South Patrick Henry dealt in a masterly way with the people whose nature he understood so well, and won the reputation of being the greatest orator and political thinker in a section of speakers and statesmen. He was the product and exponent of stir-

ring times. Intense earnestness and tremendous sincerity emphasized a character just, upright, godly, humane, and beneficent. Around him men rallied, or opposed his policy with all their might while admitting his oratorical supremacy in a group which embraced such names as Lee and Drayton, Rutledge and Randolph. And not far away were Madison, Pinckney, Jay, Hamilton, Livingston, John Adams, Harrison Gray Otis, and others of the Revolutionary and Reconstruction periods whose eloquence would have been more notable if it had not been surpassed by their statesmanship.

When the Congress of the new nation came to be the arena of deliberative oratory, voices old and new were heard. Of the new, Henry Clay's was the foremost, if the length of his political career be taken into consideration. The story of his self-education is familiar; in the forest and the debating club; on the stump and in the courts; until at the age of thirty he was in the Senate for the fragment of a term and back again three years later. Thenceforward for forty years he was in legislative halls or serving the nation abroad until the middle year of the century.

Sincerity was the foundation of his eloquence. To express his honest convictions was the purpose of his speech. Off the line of these he could not do his best. On that line he was fearless, ardent, and hopeful, inspiring others with his own sentiments and expectations. To such sincerity he added clearness and common sense with the freedom and unconstraint which go with a frank nature. Beyond all were the gifts which belong to a great natural orator, which education may increase but cannot bestow. The power of personality, a majestic presence, wonderful voice, graceful gestures; burst of enthusiasm, thrilling and inspiring, or of wrath overawing and terrifying; or again, a sweet persuasiveness winning every hearer—these are qualities which may be enumerated, but they are not the whole of that which raised uncontrollable storms of emotion. Breathless assemblies broke out in wild enthusiasm of delight, overwhelming him with demonstrations of pride and affection. Contemporaries unite in throwing around him an atmosphere in which he becomes a giant in the eyes of enraptured multitudes.

John C. Calhoun exemplified a different style of oratory.

A graduate of Yale in 1804, he continued to cultivate extemporary speaking in the law school at Litchfield, and upon his return home to South Carolina was almost immediately sent to the State Legislature, and to Congress nine years later, where for forty years he participated in discussion of its important measures. In the moil and turmoil over rights to be retained or surrendered for the common weal Calhoun was prominent. He made speeches that were great in plainness of statement and closeness of reasoning, sometimes with impassioned delivery, oftener with a severity and dignity of manner which commanded more respect than enthusiasm. It was difficult to escape from his conclusions if his premises were accepted. His profound sincerity, unswerving devotion, and unwavering persistence were in harmony with his inexorable logic. He was most eloquent when occasional bold generalizations or reckless exaggerations would carry him into absurdities of conclusion. He was oftener the exact reasoner acute in analysis, broad and clear in perception, massive and solid in statement, sometimes calm and impressive in manner, and again vehement and fiery; but whatever his mood, there was always present some relentless and remorseless form of demonstration.

Deliberative oratory reached its highest point in the eloquence of Daniel Webster. His early familiarity with the English of the Bible and with the Constitution of the United States were signs of the direction in which his intellect was to move with largeness and freedom. After the customary flights in college and Fourth of July rhetoric, and some wholesome advice from elders of the bar, he settled into the plain and forcible diction of his early professional life. With no waste nor display his terse and lucid statements were understood by ordinary jurymen. They followed his homespun talk with them about the case in hand and believed what he said because he said it. Later in superior courts he exhibited a comprehensive grasp of the questions at issue and discerned at once the decisive points of fact and law. Nor did he avoid emotional appeals when they were useful, as in the Dartmouth College case. Judge Story spoke for many listeners on many occasions when he said: "For the first hour we listened to him with perfect astonishment, for the second hour with perfect delight, and for the third hour with perfect conviction."

It was in Congress that the greatness of his intellect and oratorical power became conspicuous. Preëminently a statesman of broad and comprehensive views, he displayed a lofty and majestic eloquence throughout forty years of public service. The best example of it is undoubtedly the second reply to Hayne, almost dramatic in its character and attendant circumstances. Notables and dignitaries had assembled in the Senate chamber to hear the cardinal principles of our government expounded by an eminent constitutional lawyer and chief orator in the nation, who himself had come to a task which no one before or since could accomplish so well as he. How he did this is a part of our history. His masterly argumentation concerning the origin of our government and the source of its power he based on a statement which Lincoln paraphrased: "It is, sir, the people's Constitution, the people's government, made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people." The development of this and other propositions through four hours of clear analysis and irresistible argument can best be understood by reading the speech itself; but his directness of purpose, his perspicuity and energy, vigor of reasoning, felicity of diction, and power of condensation do not convey all that his contemporaries perceived and heard. At his best there was a tremendous majesty of voice, presence, and personality, which delighted and gratified, impressed and awed assemblies beyond all that the record of his speech can convey. As with illustrious predecessors, these spiritual gifts vanished with the departing spirit, leaving only the form of their eloquence by which to imagine its living power. In this instance both the record and the tradition will crown the orator as, all in all, the most eloquent of his countrymen at the bar, in legislative halls, and on those special occasions when, as at Bunker Hill and Plymouth Rock, heroic deeds were commemorated and heroic men eulogized.

In this field of occasional address he had eminent successors. Edward Everett was the first in order of time if not in ability. A scholar of preëminent attainments, he became the instructor of his fellow citizens on memorable occasions, inspiring them with veneration for the past and with enthusiasm for liberty, political wisdom, and diversified learning. Many distinguished men of his generation received an impulse from the classic

purity and grace of his speech. Harmony pervaded his discourse. Its symmetry and fitness are so complete that stronger qualities are obscured in the perfection of art. Yet he was not a mere rhetorician. His good sense and large knowledge kept him from sacrificing everything to the symphonies of speech. The sense of fitness never deserted him. The result of his lifetime labors was an assemblage of occasional orations such as one of the old Greek orators might have left. They have a high purpose in recalling the virtues of patriots and the love of learning, and illustrate the union of knowledge with eloquence.

Rufus Choate was an eminent lawyer who found time to employ his marvelous gifts of speech outside the courtroom and the halls of Congress. At the bar he was definite and clear in statement, fair and conciliatory in manner, massive in argument, and brilliant in expansion, with skill in directing strong points against the weak places of the defense. Above all, and especially in his occasional addresses, he was master of the open and occult forces of speech. Charged with thought, alive with emotion, possessing the clear vision and the ready word, he was as delighted to speak as his audiences to hear. Sometimes when the stream of thought began to flow no sentence of ordinary length could contain a single section; but short sentences are not wanting for relief, and the long ones did not lack unity. Proportion and harmony, distribution of facts and conclusions, of reason and imagination, of dignity and pleasantry, of wisdom and wit, placed him among the first of forensic and occasional orators of his time.

Charles Sumner was another eminent jurist who was equally distinguished as a scholar and an orator. His mornings were given to the study of law, his afternoons and evenings reserved for classics and literature. At thirty-five his first famous oration inaugurated the period of his occasional oratory. His early discourse was freighted with allusions to every department of knowledge. History, mythology, fiction, and the drama were woven into the fabric of his speech until it became a very cloth of gold and gems in its classic and barbaric splendor. A liberal education is essential to its appreciation. For a while his speech was largely academic and literary in its purpose. Then the oncoming controversy about slavery, and

the arena which was offered on the floor of Congress, gave an intensely practical aim to his deliberative oratory. Thenceforth there is no less learning and classic grace, but they are to contribute to a cause which was to overshadow all other interests and pursuits. Speech followed speech, each more earnest than the last. Men fared no better than the measures they advocated. He was uncompromising in his devotion to the reform of an anomaly which was the taunt of critics abroad and at home. Debates were no longer discussions. The day of compromises was over and words were precursors of war. Sumner was a leader in the strife who combined native ability and acquired art, the culture of the schools with natural gifts, to which were added an unsparing surrender of self and an unswerving devotion to a single purpose.

Wendell Phillips advocated the same cause among the people that Sumner had supported in Congress. Forsaking the traditions of birth and environment, he espoused the unpopular side in a growing controversy. A gilded youth passed into a heroic manhood; the young law student into an accomplished advocate of universal freedom. A radical in his earlier days, he came to see his best hopes realized, although not always in the way he anticipated. A free lance on the platform, he was hissed and applauded by turns, and either treatment was inspiriting to him. Quiet in manner, deliberate and unhesitating in his discourse, he held his auditors charmed with a subtle attraction which was beyond their last analysis. There was a power in his reserved energies which was greater than the best declamation.

There were other speakers in this period who on the platform or in the pulpit maintained the traditions of the time for eloquence. Those who can recall the days when popular lecturers were heard in every large town will remember the eager crowds which listened to Bellows and Chapin, Beecher and Gough, Emerson and Thoreau, and many a lesser light interspersed to fill a winter's program. Sometimes, also, the exigencies of a political campaign would bring to the larger cities an orator like Lincoln, whose speech had something more than a political interest. Such a one was George William Curtis, who in his earlier manhood began to discourse of the educated man's relation to politics, and later of the questions

which gathered around the conduct of the Civil War and the issues growing out of it. He more than any other employed in turn the two present agencies for moving the masses—public speech and the public press. On the platform and in the editor's chair he was equally at home, and stood as the representative man of a time when each of these powers supplements the work of the other.

In this brief survey of oratory during twenty-four centuries it has been possible to touch upon nothing more than its prominent phases and its chief speakers as exponents of their respective ages, who appear here and there in the long succession as mountain-peaks upon which light perpetual lingers. Evermore, also, eloquence and liberty are seen hand in hand —Hellenic resistance to Asiatic despotism; Roman warfare against imperialism; the Church against papal usurpation and the sacrilege of the Saracen; the protests of the Reformation, and in France against courtly corruption and oppression; in England against tampering with British freedom; in America for equal rights and for general liberty under the laws to all the inhabitants of the land.

Differing forms of expression are seen in Attic simplicity and Asian ornamentation, degenerating into tawdriness followed by severity, crudeness, and, with the revival of letters, classic tendencies mingled with romantic to fare on together according to temperament and taste. Method and manner also show the same unchanging principles in diversity of form, variety in unity, changing phases of expression amid ceaseless persistence of thought and purpose toward a larger truth, a better liberty, and a nobler life.

Until, however, these are more completely attained it cannot be said that the movement which has continued so long will wholly cease, or that there will be no need of the speaking man in the future as in all the past. Therefore the necessity remains of gathering up the work of the masters, that the men of the present, and the future may know how they shall best instruct, convince, and persuade.

MASTERPIECES
EUROPEAN

A SURVEY OF ORATORY IN PAST AGES

Although "Modern Eloquence" contains only speeches which have been delivered within the last century and a half, since the Declaration of Independence, it seems desirable to preface a collection of masterpieces with a few examples of the eloquence of past ages.

As Professor Sears has indicated in his scholarly introduction, not only is oratory a very ancient art, but in remote times most careful attention was paid to this art, and it was practiced with a high degree of excellence. The Old Testament preserves many notable examples of oratory, especially in the invectives of the Prophets, but it was in Athens that this great art received the most elaborate early development. The Age of Pericles is famous for the magnificent development of all of the fine arts. Specimens of the oratory of this Age are preserved in the Greek history of Thucydides. Although these orations, in the form in which we have them, are the work of the historian, doubtless he reproduced as closely as possible the ideas and the eloquence of the orators themselves. We include the Funeral Oration of Pericles, which has long been famous as one of the noblest expressions of patriotism. As a memorial to fallen soldiers, it has perhaps never been surpassed except in the Gettysburg Address of Abraham Lincoln.

The two addresses bring to the imagination two strikingly contrasted occasions. In one instance, the dictator of the little city-state is speaking in the presence of sublime works of art and architecture which have been created under his leadership. Before the eyes of his audience are the visible tokens of the glory which their community has achieved. The words uttered are destined to remain a more lasting memorial of that glory than even the marbles of the Parthenon. On the other occasion, over two thousand years later, the President of the great western Republic is speaking from an improvised platform on

the country hillside where recently in terrific battle the destinies of that Democracy had been determined.

Pericles entered public life about the year 469 B. C. This address was a memorial to the first Athenian soldiers who fell in the Peloponnesian War. This war between Athens and Sparta was not completed until after the death of Pericles in 429 B. C.

PERICLES

FUNERAL ORATION

MANY of those who have spoken before me on these occasions have commended the author of that law which we now are obeying for having instituted an oration to the honor of those who sacrifice their lives in fighting for their country. For my part, I think it sufficient for men who have proved their virtue in action, by action to be honored for it—by such as you see the public gratitude now performing about this funeral; and that the virtues of many ought not to be endangered by the management of any one person when their credit must precariously depend on his oration, which may be good and may be bad. Difficult, indeed, it is, judiciously to handle a subject where even probable truth will hardly gain assent. The hearer, enlightened by a long acquaintance, and warm in his affection, may quickly pronounce everything unfavorably expressed in respect to what he wishes and what he knows—while the stranger pronounces all exaggerated through envy of those deeds which he is conscious are above his own achievement. For the praises bestowed upon others are then only to be endured, when men imagine they can do those feats they hear to have been done; they envy what they cannot equal, and immediately pronounce it false. Yet, as this solemnity hath received its sanction from the authority of our ancestors, it is my duty also to obey the law and to endeavor to procure, as far as I am able, the good-will and approbation of all my audience.

I shall therefore begin first with our forefathers, since both justice and decency require we should on this occasion bestow on them an honorable remembrance. In this, our country, they kept themselves always firmly settled, and through

their valor handed it down free to every since-succeeding generation. Worthy, indeed, of praise are they, and yet more worthy are our immediate fathers, since, enlarging their own inheritance into the extensive empire which we now possess, they bequeathed that, their work of toil, to us their sons. Yet even these successes we ourselves here present, we who are yet in the strength and vigor of our days, have nobly improved, and have made such provisions for this, our Athens, that now it is all-sufficient in itself to answer every exigence of war and of peace. I mean not here to recite those martial exploits by which these ends were accomplished, or the resolute defenses we ourselves and our fathers have made against the formidable invasions of Barbarians and Greeks—your own knowledge of these will excuse the long detail. But by what methods we have risen to this height of glory and power, by what polity and by what conduct we are thus aggrandized, I shall first endeavor to show, and then proceed to the praise of the deceased. These, in my opinion, can be no impertinent topics on this occasion; the discussion of them must be beneficial to this numerous company of Athenians and of strangers.

We are happy in a form of government which cannot envy the laws of our neighbors—for it hath served as a model to others, but is original at Athens. And this our form, as committed not to the few, but to the whole body of the people, is called a democracy. How different soever in a private capacity, we all enjoy the same general equality our laws are fitted to preserve; and superior honors just as we excel. The public administration is not confined to a particular family, but is attainable only by merit. Poverty is not a hindrance, since whoever is able to serve his country meets with no obstacle to preferment from his first obscurity. The offices of the state we go through without obstructions from one another; and live together in the mutual endearments of private life without suspicions; not angry with a neighbor for following the bent of his own humor, nor putting on that countenance of discontent, which pains though it cannot punish—so that in private life we converse without diffidence or damage, while we dare not on any account offend against the public, through the reverence we bear to the magistrates and the laws, chiefly

to those enacted for redress of the injured, and to those unwritten, a breach of which is thought a disgrace. Our laws have further provided for the mind most frequent intermissions of care by the appointment of public recreations and sacrifices throughout the year, elegantly performed with a peculiar pomp, the daily delight of which is a charm that puts melancholy to flight. The grandeur of this, our Athens, causeth the produce of the whole earth to be imported here, by which we reap a familiar enjoyment, not more of the delicacies of our own growth than of those of other nations.

In the affairs of war we excel those of our enemies, who adhere to methods opposite to our own. For we lay open Athens to general resort, nor ever drive any stranger from us whom either improvement or curiosity hath brought amongst us, lest any enemy should hurt us by seeing what is never concealed. We place not so great a confidence in the preparatives and artifices of war as in the native warmth of our souls impelling us to action. In point of education the youth of some peoples are inured, by a course of laborious exercise, to support toil and exercise like men, but we, notwithstanding our easy and elegant way of life, face all the dangers of war as intrepidly as they. This may be proved by facts, since the Lacedæmonians never invade our territories barely with their own, but with the united strength of all their confederates. But when we invade the dominions of our neighbors, for the most part we conquer without difficulty in an enemy's country those who fight in defense of their own habitations. The strength of our whole force no enemy, yet hath ever experienced, because it is divided by our naval expeditions, or engaged in the different quarters of our service by land. But if anywhere they engage and defeat a small party of our forces, they boastingly give it out a total defeat; and if they are beat, they were certainly overpowered by our united strength. What though from a state of inactivity rather than laborious exercise, or with a natural rather than an acquired valor, we learn to encounter danger?—this good, at least, we receive from it, that we never droop under the apprehension of possible misfortunes, and when we hazard the danger, are found no less courageous than those who are continually inured

to it. In these respects our whole community deserves justly to be admired, and in many we have yet to mention.

In our manner of living we show an elegance tempered with frugality, and we cultivate philosophy without enervating the mind. We display our wealth in the season of beneficence, and not in the vanity of discourse. A confession of poverty is disgrace to no man, no effort to avoid it is disgrace indeed. There is visible in the same persons an attention to their own private concerns and those of the public; and in others engaged in the labors of life there is a competent skill in the affairs of government. For we are the only people who think him that does not meddle in state affairs—not indolent, but good for nothing. And yet we pass the soundest judgments, and are quick at catching the right apprehensions of things, not thinking that words are prejudicial to actions, but rather the not being duly prepared by previous debate before we are obliged to proceed to execution. Herein consists our distinguishing excellence, that in the hour of action we show the greatest courage, and yet debate beforehand the expediency of our measures. The courage of others is the result of ignorance; deliberation makes them cowards. And those undoubtedly must be owned to have the greatest souls, who, most acutely sensible of the miseries of war and the sweets of peace, are not hence in the least deterred from facing danger.

In acts of beneficence, further, we differ from the many. We preserve friends not by receiving, but by conferring, obligations. For he who does a kindness hath the advantage over him who, by the law of gratitude, becomes a debtor to his benefactor. The person obliged is compelled to act the more insipid part, conscious that a return of kindness is merely a payment and not an obligation. And we alone are splendidly beneficent to others, not so much from interested motives as for the credit of pure liberality. I shall sum up what yet remains by only adding that our Athens in general is the school of Greece; and that every single Athenian amongst us is excellently formed, by his personal qualification, for all the various scenes of active life, acting with a most graceful demeanor and a most ready habit of dispatch.

That I have not on this occasion made use of a pomp of words, but the truth of facts, that height to which by such a conduct this state hath risen, is an undeniable proof. For we are now the only people of the world who are found by experience to be greater than in report—the only people who, repelling the attacks of an invading enemy, exempt their defeat from the blush of indignation, and to their tributaries yield no discount, as if subject to men unworthy to command. That we deserve our power, we need no evidence to manifest. We have great and signal proofs of this, which entitle us to the admiration of the present and future ages. We want no Homer to be the herald of our praise; no poet to deck off a history with the charms of verse, where the opinion of exploits must suffer by a strict relation. Every sea hath been opened by our fleets, and every land hath been penetrated by our armies, which have everywhere left behind them eternal monuments of our enmity and our friendship.

In the just defense of such a state, these victims of their own valor, scorning the ruin threatened to it, have valiantly fought and bravely died. And every one of those who survive is ready, I am persuaded, to sacrifice life in such a cause. And for this reason have I enlarged so much on national points, to give the clearest proof that in the present war we have more at stake than men whose public advantages are not so valuable, and to illustrate, by actual evidence, how great a commendation is due to them who are now my subject, and the greatest part of which they have already received. For the encomiums with which I have celebrated the state have been earned for it by the bravery of these and of men like these. And such compliments might be thought too high and exaggerated if passed on any Greeks but them alone. The fatal period to which these gallant souls are now reduced is the surest evidence of their merit—an evidence begun in their lives and completed in their deaths. For it is a debt of justice to pay superior honors to men who have devoted their lives in fighting for their country, though inferior to others in every virtue but that of valor. Their last service effaceth all former demerits—it extends to the public; their private demeanors reached only to a few. Yet not one of these was at all induced to shrink from danger, through

fondness of those delights which the peaceful affluent life bestows—not one was the less lavish of his life, through that flattering hope attendant upon want, that poverty at length might be exchanged for affluence. One passion there was in their minds much stronger than these—the desire of vengeance on their enemies. Regarding this as the most honorable prize of dangers, they boldly rushed towards the mark to glut revenge and then to satisfy those secondary passions. The uncertain event they had already secured in hope; what their eyes showed plainly must be done, they trusted their own valor to accomplish, thinking it more glorious to defend themselves and die in the attempt than to yield and live. From the reproach of cowardice, indeed, they fled, but presented their bodies to the shock of battle; when, insensible of fear, but triumphing in hope, in the doubtful charge they instantly dropped—and thus discharged the duty which brave men owe to their country.

As for you, who now survive them, it is your business to pray for a better fate, but to think it your duty also to preserve the same spirit and warmth of courage against your enemies; not judging of the expediency of this from a mere harangue—where any man indulging a flow of words may tell you what you yourselves know as well as he, how many advantages there are in fighting valiantly against your enemies—but, rather, making the daily-increasing grandeur of this community the object of your thoughts and growing quite enamored of it. And when it really appears great to your apprehensions, think again that this grandeur was acquired by brave and valiant men, by men who knew their duty, and in the moments of action were sensible of shame; who, whenever their attempts were unsuccessful, thought it dishonor that their country should stand in need of anything their valor could do for it, and so made it the most glorious present. Bestowing thus their lives on the public, they have every one received a praise that will never decay, a sepulcher that will always be most illustrious—not that in which their bones lie moldering, but that in which their fame is preserved, to be on every occasion, when honor is the employ of either word or act, eternally remembered. For the whole earth is the sepulcher of illustrious men; nor is it the inscription on the

columns in their native land alone that shows their merit, but the memorial of them, better than all inscriptions, in every foreign nation, reposited more durably in universal remembrance than on their own tombs. From this very moment, emulating these noble patterns, placing your happiness in liberty, and liberty in valor, be prepared to encounter all the dangers of war. For to be lavish of life is not so noble in those whom misfortunes have reduced to misery and despair, as in men who hazard the loss of a comfortable subsistence and the enjoyment of all the blessings this world affords by an unsuccessful enterprise. Adversity, after a series of ease and affluence, sinks deeper into the heart of a man of spirit than the stroke of death insensibly received in the vigor of life and public hope.

For this reason, the parents of those who are now gone, whoever of them may be attending here, I do not bewail—I shall rather comfort. It is well known to what unhappy accidents they were liable from the moment of their birth, and that happiness belongs to men who have reached the most glorious period of life, as these now have who are to you the source of sorrow—these whose life hath received its ample measure, happy in its continuance and equally happy in its conclusion. I know it in truth a difficult task to fix comfort in those breasts which will frequent remembrances, in seeing the happiness of others, of what they once themselves enjoyed. And sorrow flows not from the absence of those good things we have never yet experienced, but from the loss of those to which we have been accustomed. They who are not yet by age past child-bearing should be comforted in the hope of having more. The children yet to be born will be a private benefit to some in causing them to forget such as no longer are, and will be a double benefit to their country in preventing its desolation and providing for its security. For those persons cannot in common justice be regarded as members of equal value to the public who have no children to expose to danger for its safety. But you, whose age is already far advanced, compute the greater share of happiness your longer time hath afforded for so much gain, persuaded in yourselves the remainder will be but short, and enlighten that space by the glory gained by these. It is greatness of

soul alone that never grows old, nor is it wealth that delights in the latter stage of life, as some give out, so much as honor.

To you, the sons and brothers of the deceased, whatever number of you are here, a field of hardy contention is opened. For him who no longer is, every one is ready to commend, so that to whatever height you push your deserts, you will scarce ever be thought to equal, but to be somewhat inferior to these. Envy will exert itself against a competitor while life remains; but when death stops the competition, affection will applaud without restraint.

If after this it be expected from me to say anything to you who are now reduced to a state of widowhood, about female virtue, I shall express it all in one short admonition: It is your greatest glory not to be deficient in the virtue peculiar to your sex, and to give men as little handle as possible to talk of your behavior, whether well or ill.

I have now discharged the province allotted me by the laws, and said what I thought most pertinent to this assembly. Our departed friends have by facts been already honored. Their children from this day till they arrive at manhood shall be educated at the public expense of the state which hath appointed so beneficial a meed for these and all future relics of the public contests. For wherever the greatest rewards are proposed for virtue, there the best of patriots are ever to be found. Now let every one respectively indulge in becoming grief for his departed friends, and then retire.

The age of Pericles was marked by the work of a great moral leader as well as by triumphs in literature and the fine arts. Socrates was born about the time that Pericles entered public life. In spite of his services as philosopher, teacher, and moral leader, he was charged with impiety and condemned to death in 399 B. C., thirty years after the death of Pericles. The defense of Socrates at his trial is given by his pupil Plato in the Apology.

The charges brought against Socrates were, first, that he did not believe in the gods accepted by the State, and, second that he corrupted the Athenian youth by teaching them not to believe. Socrates conducted his defense with skill, but refused

to bend or yield to his judges. After he concluded his defense he was declared guilty by a majority of voices. He thereupon resumed his address:—

SOCRATES

ON HIS CONDEMNATION TO DEATH

For the sake of no long space of time, O Athenians, you will incur the character and reproach at the hands of those who wish to defame the city, of having put that wise man, Socrates, to death. For those who wish to defame you will assert that I am wise, though I am not. If, then, you had waited for a short time, this would have happened of its own accord; for observe my age, that it is far advanced in life, and near death. But I say this not to you all, but to those only who have condemned me to die. And I say this too to the same persons. Perhaps you think, O Athenians, that I have been convicted through the want of arguments, by which I might have persuaded you, had I thought it right to do and say anything so that I might escape punishment. Far otherwise: I have been convicted through want indeed, yet not of arguments, but of audacity and impudence, and of the inclination to say such things to you as would have been most agreeable for you to hear, had I lamented and bewailed and done and said many other things unworthy of me, as I affirm, but such as you are accustomed to hear from others.

Neither did I then think that I ought, for the sake of avoiding danger, to do anything unworthy of a freeman, nor do I now repent of having so defended myself; but I should much rather choose to die having so defended myself than to live in that way. For neither in a trial nor in battle is it right that I or any one else should employ every possible means whereby he may avoid death; for in battle it is frequently evident that a man might escape death by laying down his arms and throwing himself on the mercy of his pursuers. And there are many other devices in every danger, by which to avoid death, if a man dares to do and say everything.

But this is not difficult, O Athenians, to escape death, but it is much more difficult to avoid depravity, for it runs swifter than death. And now I, being slow and aged, am overtaken

by the slower of the two; but my accusers, being strong and active have been overtaken by the swifter, wickedness. And now I depart, condemned by you to death; but they condemned by truth, as guilty of iniquity and injustice: and I abide my sentence and so do they. These things, perhaps, ought so to be, and I think that they are for the best.

In the next place, I desire to predict to you who have condemned me, what will be your fate: for I am now in that condition in which men most frequently prophesy, namely, when they are about to die. I say then to you, O Athenians, who have condemned me to death, that immediately after my death a punishment will overtake you, far more severe, by Jupiter, than that which you have inflicted on me. For you have done this thinking you should be freed from the necessity of giving an account of your life. The very contrary however, as I affirm, will happen to you. Your accusers will be more numerous, whom I have now restrained, though you did not perceive it; and they will be more severe, inasmuch as they are younger and will be more indignant. For, if you think that by putting men to death you will restrain any one from upbraiding you because you do not live well, you are much mistaken; for this method of escape is neither possible nor honorable, but that other is most honorable and most easy, not to put a check upon others, but for a man to take heed to himself, how he may be most perfect. Having predicted thus much to those of you who have condemned me, I take my leave of you.

But with you who have voted for my acquittal, I would gladly hold converse on what has now taken place, while the magistrates are busy and I am not yet carried to the place where I must die. Stay with me then, so long, O Athenians, for nothing hinders our conversing with each other, whilst we are permitted to do so; for I wish to make known to you, as being my friends, the meaning of that which has just now befallen me. To me then, O my judges,—and in calling you judges I call you rightly,—a strange thing has happened. For the wonted prophetic voice of my guardian deity, on every former occasion, even in the most trifling affairs, opposed me, if I was about to do anything wrong; but now, that has befallen me which ye yourselves behold, and which any one

would think and which is supposed to be the extremity of evil, yet neither when I departed from home in the morning did the warning of the god oppose me, nor when I came up here to the place of trial, nor in my address when I was about to say anything; yet on other occasions it has frequently restrained me in the midst of speaking. But now it has never throughout this proceeding opposed me, either in what I did or said. What then do I suppose to be the cause of this? I will tell you: what has befallen me appears to be a blessing; and it is impossible that we think rightly who suppose that death is an evil. A great proof of this to me is the fact that it is impossible but that the accustomed signal should have opposed me, unless I had been about to meet with some good.

Moreover, we may hence conclude that there is great hope that death is a blessing. For to die is one of two things: for either the dead may be annihilated and have no sensation of anything whatever; or, as it is said, there is a certain change and passage of the soul from one place to another. And if it is a privation of all sensation, as it were, a sleep in which the sleeper has no dream, death would be a wonderful gain. For I think that if any one, having selected a night in which he slept so soundly as not to have had a dream, and having compared this night with all the other nights and days of his life, should be required on consideration to say how many days and nights he had passed better and more pleasantly than this night throughout his life, I think that not only a private person, but even a great king himself would find them easy to number in comparison with other days and nights. If, therefore, death is a thing of this kind, I say it is a gain; for thus all futurity appears to be nothing more than one night.

But if, on the other hand, death is a removal from hence to another place, and what is said to be true, that all the dead are there, what greater blessing can there be than this, my judges? For if, on arriving at Hades, released from these who pretend to be judges, one shall find those who are true judges, and who are said to judge there, Minos and Rhadamanthus, Æacus and Triptolemus, and such others of the demigods as were just during their own life, would this be a sad removal? At what price would you estimate a conference with Orpheus and Musæus, Hesiod and Homer? I indeed should be willing

to die often if this be true. For to me the sojourn there would be admirable, when I should meet with Palamedes, and Ajax, son of Telamon, and any other of the ancients who has died by an unjust sentence. The comparing my sufferings with theirs would, I think, be no unpleasing occupation. But the greatest pleasure would be to spend my time in questioning and examining the people there as I have done those here, and discovering who among them is wise, and who fancies himself to be so but is not. At what price, my judges, would not any one estimate the opportunity of questioning him who led that mighty army against Troy, or Ulysses, or Sisyphus, or ten thousand others, whom one might mention, both men and women? with whom to converse and associate, and to question them, would be an inconceivable happiness. Surely for that the judges there do not condemn to death; for in other respects those who live there are more happy than those that are here, and are henceforth immortal, if at least what is said be true.

You, therefore, O my judges, ought to entertain good hopes with respect to death, and to meditate on this one truth, that to a good man nothing is evil, neither while living nor when dead, nor are his concerns neglected by the gods. And what has befallen me is not the effect of chance; but this is clear to me, that now to die, and be freed from my cares, is better for me. On this account the warning in no way turned me aside; and I bear no resentment towards those who condemned me, or against my accusers, although they did not condemn and accuse me with this intention, but thinking to injure me: in this they deserve to be blamed.

Thus much, however, I beg of them. Punish my sons, when they grow up, O judges, paining them as I have pained you, if they appear to you to care for riches or anything else before virtue, and if they think themselves to be something when they are nothing, reproach them as I have done you, for not attending to what they ought, and for conceiving themselves something when they are worth nothing. If ye do this, both I and my sons shall have met with just treatment at your hands.

It is now time to depart,—for me to die, for you to live. But which of us is going to a better state is unknown to every one but God.

[Translated from Plato by Henry Cary, M A.]

Demosthenes, the greatest of Greek orators was born fifteen years after the death of Socrates. From his youth he studied to become an orator. The story goes that he practiced speaking with pebbles in his mouth to overcome the defect of indistinct utterance. His public career as an orator was devoted to the effort to save the liberties of Greece from the military conqueror, Philip of Macedon. His famous orations, the "Philippics," were delivered between 351 and 341 B. C. Three years later, at the battle of Chæronea, Philip totally defeated the Athenians, in whose army Demosthenes fought. Demosthenes was still honored in Athens and served on the embassy, which attempted to make peace with the conqueror. In 336 B. C. Ctesiphon moved in the senate to present a gift of a golden crown to Demosthenes, but was opposed by the rival orator, Æschines, who gave notice that he would bring suit against Ctesiphon for proposing an illegal measure. The trial was delayed seven years, but when it finally occurred it attracted wide interest as the virtual trial of Demosthenes.

Æschines was himself a brilliant orator and had long been on the side of Philip. He failed, however, in his suit against Ctesiphon and was compelled to leave Athens. He went to Rhodes where he established a successful school of oratory and rhetoric. It is related that in after years he was generous in praise of the oratorical power of his former rival. One day when he had read the oration of Demosthenes to his students and it was received with vociferous applause, Æschines remarked, "What would you not have said had you heard him thunder out the words himself."

The oration against Ctesiphon, however, abounded in personal vituperation. The peroration follows:

ÆSCHINES

AGAINST CTESIPHON

Last, I come to the point of greatest moment: should any of your sons demand by what examples they are to form their lives, how would you reply? For you well know that it is not only by bodily exercises, by seminaries of learning, or by instructions in the arts, that our youth are trained, but much more effectually by public examples. Is it proclaimed in the

theater that a man is honored with a crown for his virtue, his magnanimity, and his patriotism, who yet proves to be abandoned and profligate in his life? The youth who sees this is corrupted. Is public justice inflicted on a man of base and scandalous vices like Ctesiphon? This affords excellent instruction to others. Doth the judge who has given a sentence repugnant to honor and to justice return home and instruct his son? That son is well warranted to reject his instruction. Advice in such a case may well be called impertinence. Not then as judges only, but as guardians of the state, give your voices in such a manner that you may approve your conduct to those absent citizens who may inquire what hath been the decision. You are not to be informed, Athenians, that the reputation of our country must be such as theirs who receive its honors. And surely it must be scandalous to stand in the same point of view, not with our ancestors, but with the unmanly baseness of Demosthenes. . . .

Think on this critical season, in which you are to give your voices. In a few days the Pythian games are to be celebrated, and the convention of Grecian states to be collected. There shall our state be severely censured on account of the late measures of Demosthenes. Should you crown him, you must be deemed accessories to those who violated the general peace: if, on the contrary, you reject the demand, you will clear the state from all imputation.

Remember then, Athenians, that the city whose fate rests with you is no alien city, but your own. Give the prizes of ambition by merit, not by chance. Reserve your rewards for those whose manhood is truer, whose characters are worthier. Look at each other and judge not only with your ears but with your eyes who of your number are likely to support Demosthenes. His young companions in the chase or the gymnasium? No, by the Olympian Zeus! He has not spent his life in hunting or in any healthful exercise, but in cultivating rhetoric to be used against men of property.

Think of his boastfulness when he claims by his embassy to have snatched Byzantium out of the hands of Philip, to have thrown the Acharnians into revolt, to have astonished the Thebans with his harangue! He thinks that you have reached the point of fatuity at which you can be made to believe even

this—as if your citizen were the deity of persuasion instead of a pettifogging mortal!

And when, at the end of his speech, he calls as his advocates those who shared his bribes, imagine that you see upon this platform, where I now speak before you, an array drawn up to confront their profligacy—the benefactors of Athens: Solon, who set in order the Democracy by his glorious laws, the philosopher, the good legislator, entreating you with the gravity which so well became him never to set the rhetoric of Demosthenes above your oaths and above the laws; Aristides, who assessed the tribute of the confederacy, and whose daughters after his death were dowered by the state—indignant at the contumely threatened to justice and asking, Are you not ashamed? When Arthmios of Zeleia brought Persian gold to Greece and visited Athens, our fathers well-nigh put him to death, though he was our public guest, and proclaimed him expelled from Athens and from all territory that the Athenians rule; while Demosthenes, who has not brought us Persian gold, but has taken bribes for himself and has kept them to this day, is about to receive a golden wreath from you! And Themistocles, and they who died at Marathon and Platæa, aye, and the very graves of our forefathers—do you not think they will utter a voice of lamentation, if he who covenants with barbarians to work against Greece shall be—crowned!

And now, bear witness for me. Thou earth, thou sun, O virtue, and intelligence, and thou, O erudition, that teacheth us the just distinction between vice and goodness, I have stood up, I have spoken in the cause of justice. If I have supported my prosecution with a dignity befitting its importance, I have spoken as my wishes dictated; if too deficiently, as my abilities admitted. Let what hath now been offered, and what your own thoughts must supply, be duly weighed, and pronounce such a sentence as justice and the interests of the state demand.

The oration of Demosthenes "On the Crown" is, as Professor Jebb says, "the most finished, most splendid and most pathetic work of ancient eloquence." It resulted in his own complete vindication. It was delivered in 330 B. C. when Demosthenes

was in the early fifties. The oration must have occupied a number of hours in delivery, and it reviews the entire public career of the speaker. Demosthenes, however, was defending not only himself but the cause of liberty to which he had long devoted his best energies. We include the closing portion of the oration.

DEMOSTHENES

ON THE CROWN

Such has been my character in political matters. In private, if you do not all know that I have been liberal and humane and charitable to the distressed, I am silent; I will say not a word; I will offer no evidence on the subject, either of persons whom I ransomed from the enemy, or of persons whose daughters I helped to portion, or anything of the kind. For this is my maxim. I hold that the party receiving an obligation should ever remember it, the party conferring should forget it immediately, if the one is to act with honesty, the other without meanness. To remind and speak of your own bounties is next door to reproaching. I will not act so; nothing shall induce me. Whatever my reputation is in these respects, I am content with it.

I will have done, then, with private topics, but say another word or two upon public. If you can mention, Æschines, a single man under the sun, whether Greek or barbarian, who has not suffered by Philip's power formerly and Alexander's now, well and good; I concede to you that my fortune or misfortune (if you please), has been the cause of everything. But if many that never saw me or heard my voice have been grievously afflicted, not individuals only, but whole cities and nations, how much juster and fairer is it to consider that to the common fortune apparently of all men, to a tide of events overwhelming and lamentable, these disasters are to be attributed. You, disregarding all this, accuse me whose ministry has been among my countrymen, knowing all the while that a part (if not the whole) of your calumny falls upon the people, and yourself in particular. For if I assumed the sole and absolute direction of our counsels, it was open to you, the other speakers, to accuse me; but if you were constantly

present in all the assemblies, if the state invited public discussion of what was expedient, and if these measures were then believed by all to be the best, and especially by you (for certainly from no good-will did you leave me in possession of hopes and admiration and honors, all of which attended on my policy, but doubtless because you were compelled by the truth and had nothing better to advise), is it not iniquitous and monstrous to complain now of measures, than which you could suggest none better at the time?

Among all other people I find these principles in a manner defined and settled—Does a man willfully offend? He is the object of wrath and punishment. Hath a man erred unintentionally? There is a pardon instead of punishment for him. Has a man devoted himself to what seemed for the general good, and without any fault or misconduct been in common with all disappointed of success? Such a one deserves not obloquy or reproach, but sympathy. These principles will not be found in our statutes only: Nature herself has defined them by her unwritten laws and the feelings of humanity. Æschines, however, has so far surpassed all men in brutality and malignity, that even things which he cited himself as misfortunes he imputes to me as crimes.

And besides—as if he himself had spoken everything with candor and good-will—he told you to watch me, and mind that I did not cajole and deceive you, calling me a great orator, a juggler, a sophist, and the like; as though, if a man say of another what applies to himself, it must be true, and the hearers are not to inquire who the person is that makes the charge. Certain am I that you are all acquainted with my opponent's character, and believe these charges to be more applicable to him than to me. And of this I am sure, that my oratory—let it be so: though, indeed, I find that the speaker's power depends for the most part on the hearers; for according to your reception and favor it is that the wisdom of a speaker is esteemed—if I, however, possess any ability of this sort, you will find it has been exhibited always in public business on your behalf, never against you or on personal matters; whereas that of Æschines has been displayed not only in speaking for the enemy, but against all persons who ever offended or quarreled with him. It is not for justice or the good of the com-

monwealth that he employs it. A citizen of worth and honor should not call upon judges impaneled in the public service to gratify his anger or hatred or anything of that kind; nor should he come before you upon such grounds. The best thing is not to have these feelings; but, if it cannot be helped, they should be mitigated and restrained.

On what occasions ought an orator and statesman to be vehement? Where any of the commonwealth's main interests are in jeopardy, and he is opposed to the adversaries of the people. Those are the occasions for a generous and brave citizen. But for a person who never sought to punish me for any offense, either public or private, on the state's behalf or on his own, to have got up an accusation because I am crowned and honored, and to have expended such a multitude of words—this is a proof of personal enmity and spite and meanness, not of anything good. And then his leaving the controversy with me, and attacking the defendant, comprises everything that is base.

I should conclude, Æschines, that you undertook this cause to exhibit your eloquence and strength of lungs, not to obtain satisfaction for any wrong. But it is not the language of an orator, Æschines, that has any value, nor yet the tone of his voice, but his adopting the same views with the people, and his hating and loving the same persons that his country does. He that is thus minded will say everything with loyal intention; he that courts persons from whom the commonwealth apprehends danger to herself rides not on the same anchorage with the people, and, therefore, has not the same expectation of safety. But—do you see?—I have: for my objects are the same with those of my countrymen; I have no interest separate or distinct. Is that so with you? How can it be—when immediately after the battle you went as ambassador to Philip, who was at that period the author of your country's calamities, notwithstanding that you had before persisted in refusing that office, as all men know?

And who is it that deceives the state? Surely the man who speaks not what he thinks. On whom does the crier pronounce a curse? Surely on such a man. What greater crime can an orator be charged with than that his opinions and his language are not the same? Such is found to be your char-

acter. And yet you open your mouth, and dare to look these men in the face! Do you think they don't know you?—or are sunk all in such slumber and oblivion as not to remember the speeches which you delivered in the assembly, cursing and swearing that you had nothing to do with Philip, and that I brought that charge against you out of personal enmity, without foundation? No sooner came the news of the battle than you forgot all that; you acknowledged and avowed that between Philip and yourself there subsisted a relation of hospitality and friendship—new names these for your contract of hire. For upon what plea of equality or justice could Æschines, son of Glaucothea the timbrel player, be the friend or acquaintance of Philip, I cannot see. No, you were hired to ruin the interests of your countrymen; and yet, though you yourself have been caught in open treason, and been informed against yourself after the fact, you revile and reproach me for things which you will find any man is chargeable with sooner than I.

Many great and glorious enterprises has the commonwealth, Æschines, undertaken and succeeded in through me; and she did not forget them. Here is the proof. On the election of a person to speak the funeral oration immediately after the event, you were proposed, but the people would not have you, notwithstanding your fine voice, nor Demades, though he had just made the peace, nor Hegemon, nor any other of your party—but me. And when you and Pythocles came forward in a brutal and shameful manner (O merciful heaven!) and urged the same accusations against me which you now do, and abused me, they elected me all the more. The reason—you are not ignorant of it—yet I will tell you. The Athenians knew as well the loyalty and zeal with which I conducted their affairs, as the dishonesty of you and your party; for what you denied upon oath in our prosperity, you confessed in the misfortunes of the republic. They considered, therefore, that men who got security for their politics by the public disasters had been their enemies long before, and were then avowedly such. They thought it right, also, that the person who was to speak in honor of the fallen and celebrate their valor should not have sat under the same roof or at the same table with their antagonists; that he should

not revel there and sing a pæan over the calamities of Greece in company with their murderers, and then come here and receive distinction; that he should not with his voice act the mourner of their fate, but that he should lament over them with his heart. This they perceived in themselves and in me, but not in any of you; therefore they elected me, and not you. Nor, while the people felt thus, did the fathers and brothers of the deceased, who were chosen by the people to perform their obsequies, feel differently. For having to order the funeral banquet (according to custom) at the house of the nearest relative to the deceased, they ordered it at mine. And with reason: because, though each to his own was nearer of kin than I was, none was so near to them all collectively. He that had the deepest interest in their safety and success had upon their mournful disaster the largest share of sorrow for them all.

Read them this epitaph, which the state chose to inscribe on their monument, that you may see even by this, Æschines, what a heartless and malignant wretch you are. Read.

"These are the patriot brave, who side by side
Stood to their arms, and dash'd the foeman's pride;
Firm in their valor, prodigal of life,
Hades they chose the arbiter of strife;
That Greeks might ne'er to haughty victors bow,
Nor thraldom's yoke, nor dire oppression know;
They fought, they bled, and on their country's breast
(Such was the doom of heaven) these warriors rest.
Gods never lack success, nor strive in vain,
But man must suffer what the fates ordain."

Do you hear, Æschines, in this very inscription, that "gods never lack success, nor strive in vain"? Not to the statesman does it ascribe the power of giving victory in battle, but to the gods. Wherefore, then, execrable man, do you reproach me with these things? Wherefore utter such language? I pray that it may fall upon the heads of you and yours!

Many other accusations and falsehoods he urged against me, O Athenians, but one thing surprised me more than all, that, when he mentioned the late misfortunes of the country, he felt not as became a well-disposed and upright citizen; he

shed no tear, experienced no such emotion; with a loud voice exulting, and straining his throat, he imagined apparently that he was accusing me, while he was giving proof against himself that our distresses touched him not in the same manner as the rest. A person who pretends, as he did, to care for the laws and constitution, ought at least to have this about him, that he grieves and rejoices for the same cause as the people, and not by his politics to be enlisted in the ranks of the enemy, as Æschines has plainly done, saying that I am the cause of all, and that the commonwealth has fallen into troubles through me, when it was not owing to my views or principles that you began to assist the Greeks; for, if you conceded this to me, that my influence caused you to resist the subjugation of Greece, it would be a higher honor than any that you have bestowed upon others. I myself would not make such an assertion—it would be doing you injustice—nor would you allow it, I am sure; and Æschines, if he acted honestly, would never, out of enmity to me, have disparaged and defamed the greatest of your glories.

But why do I censure him for this when with calumny far more shocking has he assailed me? He that charges me with Philippizing—O heaven and earth!—what would he not say? By Hercules and the gods! if one had honestly to inquire, discarding all expression of spite and falsehood, who the persons really are on whom the blame of what has happened may by common consent fairly and justly be thrown, it would be found they are persons in the various states like Æschines, not like me—persons who, while Philip's power was feeble and exceedingly small, and we were constantly warning and exhorting and giving salutary counsel, sacrificed the general interests for the sake of selfish lucre, deceiving and corrupting their respective countrymen, until they made them slaves—Daochus, Cineas, Thrasylaus, the Thessalians; Cercidas, Hieronymus, Eucampidas; the Arcadians; Myrtis, Teledamus, Mnaseas, the Argives; Euxitheus, Cleotimus, Aristæchmus, the Eleans; Neon and Thrasylochus, sons of the accursed Philiades, the Messenians; Aristratus, Epichares, the Sicyonians; Dinarchus, Demaratus, the Corinthians; Ptœodorus, Helixus, Perilaus, the Megarians; Timolaus, Theogiton, Anemœtas, the Thebans; Hipparchus, Clitarchus,

Sosistratus, the Eubœans. The day will not last me to recount the names of the traitors. All these, O Athenians, are men of the same politics in their own countries as this party among you—profligates and parasites and miscreants, who have each of them crippled their fatherlands; toasted away their liberty, first to Philip and last to Alexander; who measure happiness by their belly and all that is base, while freedom and independence, which the Greeks of olden time regarded as the test and standard of well-being, they have annihilated.

Of this base and infamous conspiracy and profligacy—or rather O Athenians, if I am to speak in earnest, of this betrayal of Grecian liberty—Athens is by all mankind acquitted, owing to my counsels; and I am acquitted by you. Then do you ask me, Æschines, for what merit I claim to be honored? I will tell you. Because, while all the statesmen in Greece, beginning with yourselves, have been corrupted formerly by Philip and now by Alexander, me neither opportunity nor fair speeches, nor large promises, nor hope, nor fear, nor anything else, could tempt or induce to betray aught that I considered just and beneficial to my country. Whatever I have advised my fellow citizens, I have never advised like you men, leaning as in a balance to the side of profit; all my proceedings have been those of a soul upright, honest, and incorrupt; entrusted with affairs of greater magnitude than any of my contemporaries, I have administered them all honestly and faithfully. Therefore do I claim to be honored.

As to this fortification, for which you ridiculed me, of the wall and fosse, I regard them as deserving of thanks and praise, and so they are; but I place them nowhere near my acts of administration. Not with stones nor with bricks did I fortify Athens, nor is this the ministry on which I most pride myself. Would you view my fortifications aright, you will find arms and states and posts and harbors and galleys and horses and men for their defense. These are the bulwarks with which I protected Attica as far as was possible by human wisdom; with these I fortified our territory, not the circle of Piræus or the city. Nay, more; I was not beaten by Philip in estimates or preparations; far from it; but the generals and forces of the allies were overcome by his for-

tune. Where are the proofs of this? They are plain and evident. Consider.

What was the course becoming a loyal citizen—a statesman serving his country with all possible forethought and zeal and fidelity? Should he not have covered Attica on the seaboard with Eubœa, on the midland frontier with Bœotia, on the Peloponnesian with the people of that confine? Should he not have provided for the conveyance of corn along a friendly coast all the way to Piræus? preserved certain places that belonged to us by sending off succors, and by advising and moving accordingly—Proconnesus, Chersonesus, Tenedos? brought others into alliance and confederacy with us—Byzantium, Abydos, Eubœa? cut off the principal resources of the enemy, and supplied what the commonwealth was deficient in? All this has been accomplished by my decrees and measures; and whoever will examine them without prejudice, men of Athens, will find they were rightly planned and faithfully executed; that none of the proper seasons were lost or missed or thrown away by me; nothing which depended on one man's ability and prudence was neglected. But if the power of some deity or fortune, or the worthlessness of commanders, or the wickedness of you that betrayed your countries, or all these things together, injured and eventually ruined our cause, of what is Demosthenes guilty? Had there been in each of the Greek cities one such man as I was in my station among you, or, rather, had Thessaly possessed one single man, and Arcadia one, of the same sentiments as myself, none of the Greeks either beyond or within Thermopylæ would have suffered their present calamities; all would have been free and independent, living prosperously in their own countries with perfect safety and security, thankful to you and the rest of the Athenians for such manifold blessings through me.

To show you that I greatly understate my services for fear of giving offense, here—read me this—the list of auxiliaries procured by my decrees. [The list is read.]

These and the like measures, Æschines, are what become an honorable citizen (by their success—O earth and heaven! —we should have been the greatest of people incontestably, and deserved to be so; even under their failure the result is glory, and no one blames Athens or her policy: all condemn

fortune that so ordered things); but never will he desert the interests of the commonwealth, nor hire himself to her adversaries, and study the enemy's advantage instead of his country's nor, on a man who has courage to advise and propose measures worthy of the state, and resolution to persevere in them, will he cast an evil eye, and, if any one privately offend him, remember and treasure it up; no, nor keep himself in a criminal and treacherous retirement, as you so often do. There is, indeed, a retirement just and beneficial to the state, such as you, the bulk of my countrymen, innocently enjoy: that, however, is not the retirement of Æschines; far from it. Withdrawing himself from public life when he pleases —and that is often—he watches for the moment when you are tired of a constant speaker, or when some reverse of fortune has befallen you, or anything untoward has happened (and many are the casualties of human life): at such a crisis he springs up as an orator, rising from his retreat like a wind; in full voice, with words and phrases collected, he rolls them out audibly and breathlessly, to no advantage or good purpose whatsoever, but to the detriment of some or other of his fellow citizens and to the general disgrace.

Yet from this labor and diligence, Æschines, if it proceeded from an honest heart, solicitous for your country's welfare, the fruits should have been rich and noble and profitable to all—alliances of states, supplies of money, conveniences of commerce, enactment of useful laws, opposition to our declared enemies. All such things were looked for in former times—and many opportunities did the past afford for a good man and true to show himself—during which time you are nowhere to be found, neither first, second, third, fourth, fifth, nor sixth—not in any rank at all—certainly on no service by which your country was exalted. For what alliance has come to the state by your procurement? What succors, what acquisition of good-will or credit? What embassy or agency is there of you, by which the reputation of the country has been increased? What concern, domestic, Hellenic, or foreign, of which you have had the management, has improved under it? What galleys? what ammunition? what arsenals? what repair of walls? what cavalry? What in the world are you good for? What assistance in money have you ever given,

either to the rich or the poor, out of public spirit or liberality? None. But, good sir, if there is nothing of this, there is at all events zeal and loyalty. Where? when? You infamous fellow! Even at a time when all who ever spoke upon the platform gave something for the public safety, and last Aristonicus gave the sum which he had amassed to retrieve his franchise, you neither came forward nor contributed a mite—not from inability—no! for you have inherited above five talents from Philo, your wife's father, and you had a subscription of two talents from the chairmen of the boards for what you did to cut up the navy law. But, that I may not go from one thing to another and lose sight of the question, I pass this by. That it was not poverty prevented your contributing, already appears; it was, in fact, your anxiety to do nothing against those to whom your political life is subservient. On what occasions, then, do you show your spirit? When do you shine out? When aught is to be spoken against your countrymen!—then it is you are splendid in voice, perfect in memory, an admirable actor, a tragic Theocrines.

You mention the good men of olden times; and you are right so to do. Yet it is hardly fair, O Athenians, that he should get the advantage of that respect which you have for the dead, to compare and contrast me with them—me who am living among you; for what mortal is ignorant that toward the living there exists always more or less of ill-will, whereas the dead are no longer hated by even an enemy? Such being human nature, am I to be tried and judged by the standard of my predecessors? Heaven forbid! It is not just or equitable, Æschines. Let me be compared with you, or any persons you like of your party who are still alive. And consider this—whether it is more honorable and better for the state, that because of the services of a former age, prodigious though they are beyond all power of expression, those of the present generation should be unrequited and spurned, or that all who give proof of their good intentions should have their share of honor and regard from the people. Yet, indeed —if I must say so much—my politics and principles, if considered fairly, will be found to resemble those of the illustrious ancients, and to have had the same objects in view, while yours resemble those of their calumniators; for it is

certain there were persons in those times who ran down the living, and praised people dead and gone, with a malignant purpose like yourself.

You say that I am nothing like the ancients. Are you like them, Æschines? Is your brother, or any of our speakers? I assert that no one is. But pray, my good fellow (that I may give you no other name), try the living with the living and with his competitors, as you would in all cases—poets, dancers, athletes. Philamon did not, because he was inferior to Glaucus of Carystus and some other champions of a bygone age, depart uncrowned from Olympia, but, because he beat all who entered the ring against him, was crowned and proclaimed conqueror. So I ask you to compare me with the orators of the day, with yourself, with any one you like: I yield to none. When the commonwealth was at liberty to choose for her advantage, and patriotism was a matter of emulation, I showed myself a better counselor than any, and every act of state was pursuant to my decrees and laws and negotiations; none of your party was to be seen, unless you had to do the Athenians a mischief. After that lamentable occurrence, when there was a call no longer for advisers, but for persons obedient to command, persons ready to be hired against their country and willing to flatter strangers, then all of you were in occupation, grand people with splendid equipages. I was powerless, I confess, though more attached to my countrymen than you.

Two things, men of Athens, are characteristic of a well-disposed citizen—so may I speak of myself and give the least offense: in authority, his constant aim should be the dignity and preëminence of the commonwealth; in all times and circumstances his spirit should be loyal. This depends upon nature; power and might upon other things. Such a spirit, you will find, I have ever sincerely cherished. Only see. When any person demanded—when they brought Amphictyonic suits against me—when they menaced—when they promised—when they set these miscreants like wild beasts upon me—never in any way have I abandoned my affection for you. From the very beginning I chose an honest and straightforward course in politics, to support the honor, the power, the glory of my fatherland, these to exalt, in these to have my being. I do

not walk about the market place gay and cheerful because the stranger has prospered, holding out my right hand and congratulating those whom I think will report it yonder, and on any news of our own success shudder and groan and stoop to the earth, like these impious men who rail at Athens, as if in so doing they did not rail at themselves; who look abroad, and if the foreigner thrive by the distresses of Greece, are thankful for it, and say we should keep him so thriving to all time.

Never, O ye gods, may those wishes be confirmed by you! If possible, inspire even in these men a better sense and feeling! But if they are, indeed, incurable, destroy them by themselves; exterminate them on land and sea; and for the rest of us, grant that we may speedily be released from our present fears, and enjoy a lasting deliverance!

Even after its decay as a political State, Athens long continued the educational and literary center of the ancient world. Through its schools oratory and rhetoric were taught to the Romans and to men of other nations. Before passing to Rome, we record one other great oration delivered in Athens. It was about 360 years after the great defense of Demosthenes that St. Paul spoke to the men of Athens on Mars' Hill.

ST. PAUL

TO THE MEN OF ATHENS ON MARS' HILL

Then Paul stood in the midst of Mars' Hill, and said, Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious.

For as I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with this inscription, TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you.

God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands;

Neither is he worshipped with men's hands, as though he

needed any thing, seeing he giveth to all life, and breath, and all things;

And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation;

That they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he be not far from every one of us:

For in him we live, and move, and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring.

Forasmuch then as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and man's device.

And the times of this ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men every where to repent:

Because he hath appointed a day, in the which he will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained; whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead.

[Acts xvii, 22-32.]

THE most famous of Roman orators was Marcus Tullius Cicero. He was born in 106 B. C. His education was entrusted to an orator of distinction, and young Cicero spared no pains in mastering every intricacy of the art in which he was destined to achieve such renown. He entered public life early and rose through the various offices to the highest position, that of Consul. In this last office he saved the State by foiling the conspirator, Catiline, who had been a candidate against him for the Consulship. Cicero had a knowledge of all the movements of the conspirators and summoned the senate to meet in the Temple of Jupiter in the Capital, the place used only on occasions of great public danger. Catiline had the audacity to attend this meeting, and the senators, even his former acquaintances, were so astonished at his impudence that they refused to salute him. When Cicero came to speak, he addressed himself directly to Catiline in the famous invective which is now known as the first oration against Catiline.

This was followed by other orations which led to the defeat and death of the conspirators. Cicero received the thanks of the State and the title "Father of his Country." He continued to play a prominent part in public affairs, first in the party of Pompey, then on the side of the victorious Cæsar. He was put to death when the Triumvirate was formed after the assassination of Cæsar. Cicero was a great scholar and writer as well as orator. Many of his letters, essays and orations have been preserved. His oration against Verres impeaching this officer for maladministration in Sicily, the "Philippics," invectives against Mark Antony, and the eulogy in defense of Archias, the poet, rank with the speeches against Catiline among his most famous orations.

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

FIRST ORATION AGAINST CATILINE

When, O Catiline, do you mean to cease abusing our patience? How long is that madness of yours still to mock us? When is there to be an end of that unbridled audacity of yours, swaggering about as it does now? Do not the mighty guards placed on the Palatine Hill—do not the watches posted throughout the city—does not the alarm of the people, and the union of all good men—does not the precaution taken of assembling the senate in this most defensible place—do not the looks and countenances of this venerable body here present, have any effect upon you? Do you not feel that your plans are detected? Do you not see that your conspiracy is already arrested and rendered powerless by the knowledge which every one here possesses of it? What is there that you did last night, what the night before—where is it that you were—who was there that you summoned to meet you—what design was there which was adopted by you, with which you think that any one of us is unacquainted?

Shame on the age and on its principles! The senate is aware of these things; the consul sees them; and yet this man lives. Lives! aye, he comes even into the senate. He takes a part in the public deliberations; he is watching and marking down and checking off for slaughter every individual among us. And we, gallant men that we are, think that we are doing

our duty to the republic if we keep out of the way of his frenzied attacks.

You ought, O Catiline, long ago to have been led to execution by command of the counsel. That destruction which you have been long plotting against us ought to have already fallen on your own head.

What? Did not that most illustrious man, Publius Scipio, the Pontifex Maximus, in his capacity of a private citizen, put to death Tiberius Gracchus, though but slightly undermining the constitution? And shall we, who are the consuls, tolerate Catiline, openly desirous to destroy the whole world with fire and slaughter? For I pass over older instances, such as how Caius Servilius Ahala with his own hand slew Spurius Mælius when plotting a revolution in the state. There was—there was once such virtue in this republic that brave men would repress mischievous citizens with severer chastisement than the most bitter enemy. For we have a resolution of the senate, a formidable and authoritative decree against you, O Catiline; the wisdom of the republic is not at fault, nor the dignity of this senatorial body. We, we alone —I say it openly—we, the consuls, are wanting in our duty.

The senate once passed a decree that Lucius Opimius, the consul, should take care that the republic suffered no injury. Not one night elapsed. There was put to death, on some mere suspicion of disaffection, Caius Gracchus, a man whose family had borne the most unblemished reputation for many generations. There was slain Marcus Fulvius, a man of consular rank, and all of his children. By a like decree of the senate the safety of the republic was intrusted to Caius Marius and Lucius Valerius, the consuls. Did not the vengeance of the republic, did not execution overtake Lucius Saturninus, a tribune of the people, and Caius Servilius, the prætor, without the delay of one single day? But we, for these twenty days, have been allowing the edge of the senate's authority to grow blunt, as it were. For we are in possession of a similar decree of the senate, but we keep it locked up in its parchment—buried, I may say, in the sheath; and according to this decree you ought, O Catiline, to be put to death this instant. You live—and you live, not to lay aside, but to persist in your audacity. I wish, O conscript fathers, to be merciful; I wish

not to appear negligent amid such danger to the state; but I do now accuse myself of remissness and culpable inactivity. A camp is pitched in Italy, at the entrance of Etruria, in hostility to the republic; the number of the enemy increases every day; and yet the general of that camp, the leader of those enemies, we see within the walls—aye, and even in the senate—planning every day some internal injury to the republic. If, O Catiline, I should now order you to be arrested, to be put to death, I should I suppose, have to fear lest all good men should say that I had acted tardily, rather than that any one should affirm that I acted cruelly. But yet this, which ought to have been done long since, I have good reason for not doing as yet; I will put you to death, then, when there shall be not one person possible to be found so wicked, so abandoned, so like yourself, as not to allow that it has been rightly done. As long as one person exists who can dare to defend you, you shall live; but you shall live as you do now, surrounded by my many and trusted guards, so that you shall not be able to stir one finger against the republic: many eyes and ears shall still observe and watch you as they have hitherto done, though you shall not perceive them.

For what is there, O Catiline, that you can still expect, if night is not able to veil your nefarious meetings in darkness, and if private houses cannot conceal the voice of your conspiracy within their walls— if everything is seen and displayed? Change your mind: trust me: forget the slaughter and conflagration you are meditating. You are hemmed in on all sides; all your plans are clearer than the day to us; let me remind you of them. Do you recollect that on the 21st of October I said in the senate, that on a certain day, which was to be the 27th of October, C. Manlius, the satellite and servant of your audacity, would be in arms? Was I mistaken, Catiline, not only in so important, so atrocious, so incredible a fact, but, what is much more remarkable, in the very day? I said also in the senate that you had fixed the massacre of the nobles for the 28th of October, when many chief men of the senate had left Rome, not so much for the sake of saving themselves as of checking your designs. Can you deny that on that very day you were so hemmed in by my guards and my vigilance, that you were unable to stir one finger against the republic; when

you said that you would be content with the flight of the rest, and the slaughter of us who remained? What? when you made sure that you would be able to seize Præneste on the 1st of November by a nocturnal attack, did you not find that that colony was fortified by my order, by my garrison, by my watchfulness and care? You do nothing, you plan nothing, think of nothing which I not only do not hear but which I do not see and know every particular of.

Listen while I speak of the night before. You shall now see that I watch far more actively for the safety than you do for the destruction of the republic. I say that you came the night before (I will say nothing obscurely) into the Scythe-dealers' street, to the house of Marcus Lecca; that many of your accomplices in the same insanity and wickedness came there, too. Do you dare to deny it? Why are you silent? I will prove it if you do deny it; for I see here in the senate some men who were there with you.

O ye immortal gods, where on earth are we? in what city are we living? what constitution is ours? There are here—here in our body, O conscript fathers, in this the most holy and dignified assembly of the whole world, men who meditate my death, and the death of all of us, and the destruction of this city, and of the whole world. I, the consul, see them; I ask them their opinion about the republic, and I do not yet attack, even by words, those who ought to be put to death by the sword. You were, then, O Catiline, at Lecca's that night; you divided Italy into sections; you settled where every one was to go; you fixed whom you were to leave at Rome, whom you were to take with you; you portioned out the divisions of the city for conflagration; you undertook that you yourself would at once leave the city, and said that there was then only this to delay you, that I was still alive. Two Roman knights were found to deliver you from this anxiety, and to promise that very night, before daybreak, to slay me in my bed. All this I knew almost before your meeting had broken up. I strengthened and fortified my house with a stronger guard; I refused admittance, when they came, to those whom you sent in the morning to salute me, and of whom I had foretold to many eminent men that they would come to me at that time.

As, then, this is the case, O Catiline, continue as you have

begun. Leave the city at last: the gates are open; depart. That Manlian camp of yours has been waiting too long for you as its general. And lead forth with you all your friends, or at least as many as you can; purge the city of your presence; you will deliver me from a great fear, when there is a wall between me and you. Among us you can dwell no longer—I will not bear it, I will not permit it, I will not tolerate it. Great thanks are due to the immortal gods, and to this very Jupiter Stator, in whose temple we are, the most ancient protector of this city, that we have already so often escaped so foul, so horrible, and so deadly an enemy to the republic. But the safety of the commonwealth must not be too often allowed to be risked on one man. As long as you, O Catiline, plotted against me while I was the consul elect, I defended myself not with a public guard, but by my own private diligence. When, in the next consular comitia, you wished to slay me when I was actually consul, and your competitors also, in the Campus Martius, I checked your nefarious attempt by the assistance and resources of my own friends, without exciting any disturbance publicly. In short, as often as you attacked me, I by myself opposed you, and that, too, though I saw that my ruin was connected with great disaster to the republic. But now you are openly attacking the entire republic.

You are summoning to destruction and devastation the temples of the immortal gods, the houses of the city, the lives of all the citizens; in short, all Italy. Wherefore, since I do not yet venture to do that which is the best thing, and which belongs to my office and to the discipline of our ancestors, I will do that which is more merciful if we regard its rigor, and more expedient for the state. For if I order you to be put to death, the rest of the conspirators will still remain in the republic; if, as I have long been exhorting you, you depart, your companions, these worthless dregs of the republic, will be drawn off from the city too. What is the matter, Catiline? Do you hesitate to do that when I order you which you were already doing of your own accord? The consul orders an enemy to depart from the city. Do you ask me, Are you to go into banishment? I do not order it; but if you consult me, I advise it.

For what is there, O Catiline, that can now afford you any

pleasure in this city? for there is no one in it, except that band of profligate conspirators of yours, who does not fear you—no one who does not hate you. What brand of domestic baseness is not stamped upon your life? What disgraceful circumstance is wanting to your infamy in your private affairs? From what licentiousness have your eyes, from what atrocity have your hands, from what iniquity has your whole body ever abstained? Is there one youth, when you have once entangled him in the temptations of your corruption, to whom you have not held out a sword for audacious crime, or a torch for licentious wickedness?

What? when lately by the death of your former wife you had made your house empty and ready for a new bridal, did you not even add another incredible wickedness to this wickedness? But I pass that over, and willingly allow it to be buried in silence, that so horrible a crime may not be seen to have existed in this city, and not to have been chastised. I pass over the ruin of your fortune, which you know is hanging over you against the Ides of the very next month; I come to those things which relate not to the infamy of your private vices, not to your domestic difficulties and baseness, but to the welfare of the republic and to the lives and safety of us all.

Can the light of this life, O Catiline, can the breath of this atmosphere be pleasant to you, when you know that there is not one man of those here present who is ignorant that you, on the last day of the year, when Lepidus and Tullus were consuls, stood in the assembly armed; that you had prepared your hand for the slaughter of the consuls and chief men of the state, and that no reason or fear of yours hindered your crime and madness, but the fortune of the republic? And I say no more of these things, for they are not unknown to every one. How often have you endeavored to slay me, both as consul-elect and as actual consul? how many shots of yours, so aimed that they seemed impossible to be escaped, have I avoided by some slight stooping aside, and some dodging, as it were, of my body? You attempt nothing, you execute nothing, you devise nothing that can be kept hid from me at the proper time; and yet you do not cease to attempt and to contrive. How often already has that dagger of yours been wrested from your hands? how often has it slipped through them by some chance, and dropped

down? and yet you cannot any longer do without it; and to what sacred mysteries it is consecrated and devoted by you I know not, that you think it necessary to plunge it in the body of the consul.

But now, what is that life of yours that you are leading? For I will speak to you not so as to seem influenced by the hatred I ought to feel, but by pity, nothing of which is due to you. You came a little while ago into the senate: in so numerous an assembly, who of so many friends and connections of yours saluted you? If this in the memory of man never happened to any one else, are you waiting for insults by word of mouth, when you are overwhelmed by the most irresistible condemnation of silence? Is it nothing that at your arrival all those seats were vacated? that all the men of consular rank, who had often been marked out by you for slaughter, the very moment you sat down, left that part of the benches bare and vacant? With what feelings do you think you ought to bear this? On my honor, if my slaves feared me as all your fellow-citizens fear you, I should think I must leave my house. Do not you think you should leave the city? If I saw that I was even undeservedly so suspected and hated by my fellow-citizens, I would rather flee from their sight than be gazed at by the hostile eyes of every one. And do you, who, from the consciousness of your wickedness, know that the hatred of all men is just and has been long due to you, hesitate to avoid the sight and presence of those men whose minds and senses you offend? If your parents feared and hated you, and if you could by no means pacify them, you would, I think, depart somewhere out of their sight. Now your country, which is the common parent of all of us, hates and fears you, and has no other opinion of you than that you are meditating parricide in her case; and will you neither feel awe of her authority, nor deference for her judgment, nor fear of her power?

And she, O Catiline, thus pleads with you, and after a manner silently speaks to you: There has now for many years been no crime committed but by you; no atrocity has taken place without you; you alone unpunished and unquestioned have murdered the citizens, have harassed and plundered the allies; you alone have had power not only to neglect all laws and investigations, but to overthrow and break through

them. Your former actions, though they ought not to have been borne, yet I did bear as well as I could; but now that I should be wholly occupied with fear of you alone, that at every sound I should dread Catiline, that no design should seem possible to be entertained against me which does not proceed from your wickedness, this is no longer endurable. Depart, then, and deliver me from this fear; that, if it be a just one, I may not be destroyed; if an imaginary one, that at least I may at last cease to fear.

If, as I have said, your country were thus to address you, ought she not to obtain her request, even if she were not able to enforce it? What shall I say of your having given yourself into custody? what of your having said, for the sake of avoiding suspicion, that you were willing to dwell in the house of Marcus Lepidus? And when you were not received by him, you dared even to come to me, and begged me to keep you in my house; and when you had received answer from me that I could not possibly be safe in the same house with you, when I considered myself in great danger as long as we were in the same city, you came to Quintus Metellus, the prætor, and being rejected by him, you passed on to your associate, that most excellent man, Marcus Marcellus, who would be, I suppose you thought, most diligent in guarding you, most sagacious in suspecting you, and most bold in punishing you; but how far can we think that man ought to be from bonds and imprisonment who has already judged himself deserving of being given into custody?

Since, then, this is the case, do you hesitate, O Catiline, if you cannot remain here with tranquillity, to depart to some distant land, and to trust your life, saved from just and deserved punishment, to flight and solitude? Make a motion, say you, to the senate (for that is what you demand), and if this body votes that you ought to go into banishment, you say that you will obey. I will not make such a motion, it is contrary to my principles, and yet I will let you see what these men think of you. Begone from the city, O Catiline, deliver the republic from fear; depart into banishment, if that is the word you are waiting for. What now, O Catiline? Do you not perceive, do you not see the silence of these men? they permit it, they say nothing; why wait you for the authority

of their words, when you see their wishes in their silence?

But had I said the same to this worthy young man, Publius Sextius, or to that brave man, Marcus Marcellus, before this time the senate would deservedly have laid violent hands on me, consul though I be, in this very temple. But as to you, Catiline, while they are quiet they approve, while they permit me to speak they vote, while they are silent they are loud and eloquent. And not they alone, whose authority forsooth is dear to you, though their lives are unimportant, but the Roman knights, too, those most honorable and excellent men, and the other virtuous citizens who are now surrounding the senate, whose numbers you could see, whose desires you could know, and whose voices you a few minutes ago could hear—aye, whose very hands and weapons I have for some time been scarcely able to keep off from you; but those, too, I will easily bring to attend you to the gates if you leave these places you have been long desiring to lay waste.

And yet, why am I speaking? that anything may change your purpose? that you may ever amend your life? that you may meditate flight or think of voluntary banishment? I wish the gods may give you such a mind; though I see, if alarmed at my words you bring your mind to go into banishment, what a storm of unpopularity hangs over me, if not at present, while the memory of your wickedness is fresh, at all events hereafter. But it is worth while to incur that, as long as that is but a private misfortune of my own, and is unconnected with the dangers of the republic. But we cannot expect that you should be concerned at your own vices, that you should fear the penalties of the laws, or that you should yield to the necessities of the republic, for you are not, O Catiline, one whom either shame can recall from infamy, or fear from danger, or reason from madness.

Wherefore, as I have said before, go forth, and if you wish to make me, your enemy as you call me, unpopular, go straight into banishment. I shall scarcely be able to endure all that will be said if you do so; I shall scarcely be able to support my load of unpopularity if you do go into banishment at the command of the consul; but if you wish to serve my credit and reputation, go forth with your ill-omened band

of profligates; betake yourself to Manlius, rouse up the abandoned citizens, separate yourself from the good ones, wage war against your country, exult in your impious banditti, so that you may not seem to have been driven out by me and gone to strangers, but to have gone invited to your friends.

Though why should I invite you, by whom I know men have been already sent on to wait in arms for you at the Forum Aurelium; who I know has fixed and agreed with Manlius upon a settled day; by whom I know that that silver eagle, which I trust will be ruinous and fatal to you and to all your friends, and to which there was set up in your house a shrine, as it were, of your crimes, has been already sent forward. Need I fear that you can long do without that which you used to worship when going out to murder, and from whose altars you have often transferred your impious hand to the slaughter of citizens?

You will go at last where your unbridled and mad desire has been long hurrying you. And this causes you no grief, but an incredible pleasure. Nature has formed you, desire has trained you, fortune has preserved you for this insanity. Not only did you never desire quiet, but you never even desired any war but a criminal one; you have collected a band of profligates and worthless men, abandoned not only by all fortune but even by hope.

Then what happiness will you enjoy! with what delight will you exult! in what pleasure will you revel! when in so numerous a body of friends you neither hear nor see one good man. All the toils you have gone through have always pointed to this sort of life; your lying on the ground not merely to lie in wait to gratify your unclean desires, but even to accomplish crimes; your vigilance, not only when plotting against the sleep of husbands, but also against the goods of your murdered victims, have all been preparations for this. Now you have an opportunity of displaying your splendid endurance of hunger, of cold, of want of everything; by which in a short time you will find yourself worn out. All this I effected when I procured your rejection from the consulship, that you should be reduced to make attempts on your country as an exile, instead of being able to distress it as

consul, and that that which had been wickedly undertaken by you should be called piracy rather than war.

Now that I may remove and avert, O conscript fathers, any in the least reasonable complaint from myself, listen, I beseech you, carefully to what I say, and lay it up in your inmost hearts and minds. In truth, if my country, which is far dearer to me than my life—if all Italy—if the whole republic were to address me, Marcus Tullius, what are you doing? will you permit that man to depart whom you have ascertained to be an enemy? whom you see ready to become the general of the war? whom you know to be expected in the camp of the enemy as their chief, the author of all this wickedness, the head of the conspiracy, the instigator of the slaves and abandoned citizens, so that he shall seem not driven out of the city by you, but let loose by you against the city? will you not order him to be thrown into prison, to be hurried off to execution, to be put to death with the most prompt severity? What hinders you? is it the customs of our ancestors? But even private men have often in this republic slain mischievous citizens. Is it the laws which have been passed about the punishment of Roman citizens? But in this city those who have rebelled against the republic have never had the rights of citizens. Do you fear odium with posterity? You are showing fine gratitude to the Roman people which has raised you, a man known only by your own actions, of no ancestral renown, through all the degrees of honor at so early an age to the very highest office, if from fear of unpopularity or of any danger you neglect the safety of your fellow-citizens. But if you have a fear of unpopularity, is that arising from the imputation of vigor and boldness, or that arising from that of inactivity and indecision most to be feared? When Italy is laid waste by war, when cities are attacked and houses in flames, do you not think that you will be then consumed by a perfect conflagration of hatred?

To this holy address of the republic, and to the feelings of those men who entertain the same opinion, I will make this short answer: If, O conscript fathers, I thought it best that Catiline should be punished with death, I would not have given the space of one hour to this gladiator to live in. If, forsooth, those excellent men and most illustrious

cities not only did not pollute themselves, but even glorified themselves by the blood of Saturninus, and the Gracchi, and Flaccus, and many others of old time, surely I had no cause to fear lest for slaying this parricidal murderer of the citizens any unpopularity should accrue to me with posterity. And if it did threaten me to ever so great a degree, yet I have always been of the disposition to think unpopularity earned by virtue and glory not unpopularity.

Though there are some men in this body who either do not see what threatens, or dissemble what they do see; who have fed the hope of Catiline by mild sentiments, and have strengthened the rising conspiracy by not believing it; influenced by whose authority many, and they not wicked, but only ignorant, if I punished him would say that I had acted cruelly and tyrannically. But I know that if he arrives at the camp of Manlius to which he is going, there will be no one so stupid as not to see that there has been a conspiracy, no one so hardened as not to confess it. But if this man alone were put to death, I know that this disease of the republic would be only checked for a while, not eradicated forever. But if he banishes himself, and takes with him all his friends, and collects at one point all the ruined men from every quarter, then not only will this full-grown plague of the republic be extinguished and eradicated, but also the root and seed of all future evils.

We have now for a long time, O conscript fathers, lived among these dangers and machinations of conspiracy; but somehow or other, the ripeness of all wickedness, and of this long-standing madness and audacity, has come to a head at the time of my consulship. But if this man alone is removed from this piratical crew, we may appear, perhaps, for a short time relieved from fear and anxiety, but the danger will settle down and lie hid in the veins and bowels of the republic. As it often happens that men afflicted with a severe disease, when they are tortured with heat and fever, if they drink cold water seem at first to be relieved, but afterwards suffer more and more severely; so this disease which is in the republic, if relieved by the punishment of this man, will only get worse and worse, as the rest will be still alive.

Wherefore, O conscript fathers, let the worthless begone

—let them separate themselves from the good—let them collect in one place—let them, as I have often said before, be separated from us by a wall; let them cease to plot against the consul in his own house—to surround the tribunal of the city prætor—to besiege the senate house with swords—to prepare brands and torches to burn the city; let it, in short, be written on the brow of every citizen what are his sentiments about the republic. I promise you this, O conscript fathers, that there shall be so much diligence in us the consuls, so much authority in you, so much virtue in the Roman knights, so much unanimity in all good men, that you shall see everything made plain and manifest by the departure of Catiline—everything checked and punished.

With these omens, O Catiline, begone to your impious and nefarious war, to the great safety of the republic, to your own misfortune and injury, and to the destruction of those who have joined themselves to you in every wickedness and atrocity. Then do you, O Jupiter, who were consecrated by Romulus with the same auspices as this city, whom we rightly call the stay of this city and empire, repel this man and his companions from your altars and from the other temples—from the houses and walls of the city—from the lives and fortunes of all the citizens; and overwhelm all the enemies of good men, the foes of the republic, the robbers of Italy, men bound together by a treaty and infamous alliance of crimes, dead and alive, with eternal punishments.

Mark Antony, the friend and lieutenant of Julius Cæsar, was Consul in Rome at the time of Cæsar's assassination. Later he formed the Triumvirate with Octavius and Lepidus and was one of the three rulers of the world till his suicide after his defeat by Octavius at Actium. The funeral oration of Mark Antony, delivered over the dead body of Julius Cæsar, was reported by Dion Cassius in his history of Rome and by Plutarch in his life of Mark Antony. It was from this latter account that Shakespeare derives suggestions for the oration which he puts into the mouth of Antony in his play "Julius Cæsar." Although this speech is the creation of the poet's imagination, it has been delivered many times since in the thea-

ter and has won universal admiration. It is included here as a masterpiece of oratory.

Shakespeare gives not only the speech of Antony but the effect made by the speech upon the crowd. Indeed in the drama the crowd is fully as important an actor as the orator himself. In the play, Brutus, one of the assassinators of Cæsar, has just spoken and has left the crowd persuaded of the justice of the assassination.

MARK ANTONY

FUNERAL ORATION FOR JULIUS CÆSAR

Antony. Friends, Romans, Countrymen, lend me your ears;
I come to bury Cæsar, not to praise him.
The evil that men do lives after them;
The good is oft interred with their bones;
So let it be with Cæsar. The noble Brutus
Hath told you Cæsar was ambitious:
If it were so, it was a grievous fault,
And grievously hath Cæsar answer'd it.
Here, under leave of Brutus and the rest,—
For Brutus is an honorable man;
So are they all, all honorable men,—
Come I to speak in Cæsar's funeral.
He was my friend, faithful and just to me;
But Brutus says he was ambitious;
And Brutus is an honorable man.
He hath brought many captives home to Rome,
Whose ransoms did the general coffers fill:
Did this in Cæsar seem ambitious?
When that the poor have cried, Cæsar hath wept:
Ambition should be made of sterner stuff:
Yet Brutus says he was ambitious;
And Brutus is an honorable man.
You all did see that on the Lupercal
I thrice presented him a kingly crown,
Which he did thrice refuse: was this ambition?
Yet Brutus says he was ambitious;
And, sure, he is an honorable man.

I speak not to disprove what Brutus spoke,
But here I am to speak what I do know.
You all did love him once, not without cause:
What cause withholds you then to mourn for him?
O judgment! thou art fled to brutish beasts,
And men have lost their reason. Bear with me;
My heart is in the coffin there with Cæsar,
And I must pause till it come back to me.

First Citizen. Methinks there is much reason in his sayings.

Second Citizen. If thou consider rightly of the matter,
Cæsar has had great wrong.

Third Citizen. Has he, masters?
I fear there will a worse come in his place.

Fourth Citizen. Mark'd ye his words? He would not take the crown;
Therefore 'tis certain he was not ambitious.

First Citizen. If it be found so, some will dear abide it.

Second Citizen. Poor soul! his eyes are red as fire with weeping.

Third Citizen. There's not a nobler man in Rome than Antony.

Fourth Citizen. Now mark him, he begins again to speak.

Antony. But yesterday the word of Cæsar might
Have stood against the world: now lies he there,
And none so poor to do him reverence.
O masters, if I were disposed to stir
Your hearts and minds to mutiny and rage,
I should do Brutus wrong, and Cassius wrong,
Who, you all know, are honorable men:
I will not do them wrong; I rather choose
To wrong the dead, to wrong myself and you,
Than I will wrong such honorable men.
But here's a parchment with the seal of Cæsar;
I found it in his closet; 'tis his will:
Let but the commons hear this testament—
Which, pardon me, I do not mean to read—
And they would go and kiss dead Cæsar's wounds
And dip their napkins in his sacred blood,
Yea, beg a hair of him for memory,
And, dying, mention it within their wills,

Bequeathing it as a rich legacy
Unto their issue.

Fourth Citizen. We'll hear the will: read it, Mark Antony.

All. The will, the will! we will hear Cæsar's will.

Antony. Have patience, gentle friends, I must not read it;
It is not meet you know how Cæsar loved you.
You are not wood, you are not stones, but men;
And, being men, hearing the will of Cæsar,
It will inflame you, it will make you mad:
'Tis good you know not that you are his heirs;
For if you should, O, what would come of it!

Fourth Citizen. Read the will; we'll hear it, Antony;
You shall read us the will, Cæsar's will.

Antony. Will you be patient? will you stay awhile?
I have o'ershot myself to tell you of it:
I fear I wrong the honorable men
Whose daggers have stabb'd Cæsar; I do fear it.

Fourth Citizen. They were traitors: honorable men!

All. The will! the testament!

Second Citizen. They were villains, murderers: the will!
read the will.

Antony. You will compel me, then, to read the will?
Then make a ring about the corpse of Cæsar,
And let me show you him that made the will.
Shall I descend? and will you give me leave?

All. Come down.

Second Citizen. Descend.

[*He comes down from the pulpit.*

Third Citizen. You shall have leave.

Fourth Citizen. A ring; stand round.

First Citizen. Stand from the hearse, stand from the body.

Second Citizen. Room for Antony, most noble Antony.

Antony. Nay, press not so upon me; stand far off.

All. Stand back. Room! Bear back.

Antony. If you have tears, prepare to shed them now.
You all do know this mantle: I remember
The first time ever Cæsar put it on;
'Twas on a summer's evening, in his tent,
That day he overcame the Nervii:
Look, in this place ran Cassius' dagger through:

See what a rent the envious Casca made:
Through this the well-beloved Brutus stabb'd;
And as he pluck'd his cursed steel away,
Mark how the blood of Cæsar follow'd it,
As rushing out of doors, to be resolved
If Brutus so unkindly knock'd, or no:
For Brutus, as you know, was Cæsar's angel:
Judge, O you gods, how dearly Cæsar loved him!
This was the most unkindest cut of all;
For when the noble Cæsar saw him stab,
Ingratitude, more strong than traitors' arms,
Quite vanquish'd him: then burst his mighty heart;
And, in his mantle muffling up his face
Even at the base of Pompey's statua,
Which all the while ran blood, great Cæsar fell.
O, what a fall was there, my countrymen!
Then I, and you, and all of us fell down,
Whilst bloody treason flourish'd over us.
O, now you weep, and I perceive you feel
The dint[1] of pity: these are gracious drops.
Kind souls, what, weep you when you but behold
Our Cæsar's vesture wounded? Look you here,
Here is himself, marr'd, as you see, with traitors.

First Citizen. O piteous spectacle!

Second Citizen. O noble Cæsar!

Third Citizen. O woeful day!

Fourth Citizen. O traitors, villains!

First Citizen. O most bloody sight!

Second Citizen. We will be revenged.

All. Revenge! About! Seek! Burn! Fire! Kill! Slay!
Let not a traitor live!

Antony. Stay, countrymen.

First Citizen. Peace there! hear the noble Antony.

Second Citizen. We'll hear him, we'll follow him, we'll die with him.

Antony. Good friends, sweet friends, let me not stir you up
To such a sudden flood of mutiny.
They that have done this deed are honorable;

[1] *dint,* impression.

What private griefs they have, alas, I know not,
That made them do it: they are wise and honorable,
And will, no doubt, with reasons answer you.
I come not, friends, to steal away your hearts:
I am no orator, as Brutus is;
But, as you know me all, a plain blunt man,
That love my friend; and that they know full well
That gave me public leave to speak of him:
For I have neither wit, nor words, nor worth,
Action, nor utterance, nor the power of speech,
To stir men's blood: I only speak right on;
I tell you that which you yourselves do know;
Show you sweet Cæsar's wounds, poor dumb mouths,
And bid them speak for me: but were I Brutus,
And Brutus Antony, there were an Antony
Would ruffle up your spirits, and put a tongue
In every wound of Cæsar, that should move
The stones of Rome to rise and mutiny.

All. We'll mutiny.

First Citizen. We'll burn the house of Brutus.

Third Citizen. Away, then! come, seek the conspirators.

Antony. Yet hear me, countrymen; yet hear me speak.

All. Peace, ho! Hear Antony. Most noble Antony!

Antony. Why, friends, you go to do you know not what:
Wherein hath Cæsar thus deserved your loves?
Alas, you know not; I must tell you then:
You have forgot the will I told you of.

All. Most true: the will! Let's stay and hear the will.

Antony. Here is the will, and under Cæsar's seal.
To every Roman citizen he gives,
To every several man, seventy-five drachmas.

Second Citizen. Most noble Cæsar! we'll revenge his death.

Third Citizen. O royal Cæsar!

Antony. Hear me with patience.

All. Peace, ho!

Antony. Moreover, he hath left you all his walks,
His private arbors and new-planted orchards,
On this side Tiber; he hath left them you,
And to your heirs for ever; common pleasures,
To walk abroad and recreate yourselves.

Here was a Cæsar! when comes such another?
First Citizen. Never, never. Come, away, away!
We'll burn his body in a holy place,
And with the brands fire the traitors' houses.
Take up the body.
Second Citizen. Go fetch fire.
Third Citizen. Pluck down benches.
Fourth Citizen. Pluck down forms, windows, anything.
[*Exeunt Citizens with the body.*
Antony. Now let it work. Mischief, thou art afoot,
Take thou what course thou wilt.

Livy, the Roman historian, reports in his history of the Punic Wars, the following speech by Hannibal to his soldiers. It was written years after Hannibal's death in a language which he did not know. It is really a Roman speech, for it introduces in the Latin form and spirit what Livy imagined Hannibal would have said to his soldiers. Hannibal was born in 247 B. C., the son of Hamilcar, a Carthaginian General, leader in the war between Carthage and Rome. Hannibal led his troops in the conquest of Spain, then marched through the Alps to the gates of Rome and maintained himself for many years in Italy against the armies of Rome until he was finally recalled to Africa. This speech is reported as given in Italy just after the army had passed the Alps and before the battle of Ticino.

HANNIBAL

ADDRESS TO HIS SOLDIERS

If, soldiers, you shall by and by, in judging of your own fortune, preserve the same feelings which you experienced a little before in the example of the fate of others, we have already conquered; for neither was that merely a spectacle, but, as it were, a certain representation of your condition. And I know not whether fortune has not thrown around you still stronger chains and more urgent necessities than around your captives. On the right and left two seas enclose you, without your possessing even a single ship for escape. The river Po around you, the Po larger and more impetuous than

the Rhone; the Alps behind, scarcely passed by you when fresh and vigorous, hem you in.

Here, soldiers, where you have first met the enemy, you must conquer or die; and the same fortune which has imposed the necessity of fighting holds out to you, if victorious, rewards than which men are not wont to desire greater, even from the immortal gods. If we were only about to recover by our valor Sicily and Sardinia, wrested from our fathers, the recompense would be sufficiently ample; but whatever, acquired and amassed by so many triumphs, the Romans possess, all, with its masters themselves, will become yours. To gain this rich reward, hasten, then, and seize your arms, with the favor of the gods.

Long enough, in pursuing cattle among the desert mountains of Lusitania and Celtiberia, you have seen no emolument from so many toils and dangers; it is time to make rich and profitable campaigns, and to gain the great reward of your labors, after having accomplished such a length of journey over so many mountains and rivers, and so many nations in arms. Here fortune has granted you the termination of your labors; here she will bestow a reward worthy of the service you have undergone. Nor, in proportion as the war is great in name, ought you to consider that the victory will be difficult. A despised enemy has often maintained a sanguinary contest, and renowned States and kings have been conquered by a very slight effort.

For, setting aside only the splendor of the Roman name, what remains in which they can be compared to you? To pass over in silence your service for twenty years, distinguished by such valor and success, you have made your way to this place from the pillars of Hercules, from the ocean and the remotest limits of the world, advancing victorious through so many of the fiercest nations of Gaul and Spain; you will fight with a raw army, which this very summer was beaten, conquered, and surrounded by the Gauls, as yet unknown to its general, and ignorant of him. Shall I compare myself—almost born, and certainly bred, in the tent of my father, that most illustrious commander, myself the subjugator of Spain and Gaul, the conqueror too not only of the Alpine nations, but, what is much more, of the Alps themselves—

with this six-months' general, the deserter of his army?—to whom, if anyone, having taken away their standards, should to-day show the Carthaginians and Romans, I am sure that he would not know of which army he was consul.

I do not regard it, soldiers, as of small account that there is not a man among you before whose eyes I have not often achieved some military exploit; and to whom, in like manner, I, the spectator and witness of his valor, could not recount his own gallant deeds, particularized by time and place. With soldiers who have a thousand times received my praises and gifts, I, who was the pupil of you all before I became your commander, will march out in battle-array against those who are unknown to and ignorant of each other.

On whatever side I turn my eyes I see nothing but what is full of courage and energy: a veteran infantry; cavalry, both those with and those without the bridle, composed of the most gallant nations,—you, our most faithful and valiant allies, you Carthaginians, who are about to fight as well for the sake of your country as from the justest resentment. We are the assailants in the war, and descend into Italy with hostile standards, about to engage so much more boldly and bravely than the foe, as the confidence and courage of the assailants are greater than those of him who is defensive. Besides, suffering, injury, and indignity inflame and excite our minds: they first demanded me, your leader, for punishment, and then all of you who had laid siege to Saguntum; and had we been given up they would have visited us with the severest tortures.

That most cruel and haughty nation considers everything its own, and at its own disposal; it thinks it right that it should regulate with whom we are to have war, with whom peace; it circumscribes and shuts us up by the boundaries of mountains and rivers which we must not pass, and then does not adhere to those boundaries which it appointed. Pass not the Iberus; have nothing to do with the Saguntines. Saguntum is on the Iberus; you must not move a step in any direction. Is it a small thing that you take away my most ancient provinces—Sicily and Sardinia? Will you take Spain also? And should I withdraw thence, will you cross over into Africa?

Will cross, did I say? They have sent the two consuls

of this year, one to Africa, the other to Spain: there is nothing left to us in any quarter, except what we can assert to ourselves by arms. Those may be cowards and dastards who have something to look back upon; whom, flying through safe and unmolested roads, their own lands and their own country will receive: there is a necessity for you to be brave, and, since all between victory and death is broken off from you by inevitable despair, either to conquer, or if fortune should waver, to meet death rather in battle than in flight. If this be well fixed and determined in the minds of you all, I will repeat, you have already conquered; no stronger incentive to victory has been given to man by the immortal gods.

After the fall of Rome and the overrunning of western Europe by the barbarians, the first orators of whom we hear are the church fathers. For many centuries learning and oratory continued mainly in the hands of the clergy.

Saint Augustine was born in 354 A. D. and died in 430. His chief works are his "Confessions" and his "City of God." We include an extract from his sermon on The Lord's Prayer.

ST. AUGUSTINE

ON THE LORD'S PRAYER

The Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, hath taught us a prayer; and though He be the Lord Himself, as ye have heard and repeated in the creed, the only Son of God, yet He would not be alone. He is the only Son, and yet would not be alone; He hath vouchsafed to have brethren. For to whom doth He say: "Our Father which art in Heaven"? Whom did He wish us to call our Father save His own Father? Did He grudge us this? Parents sometimes, when they have gotten one, or two, or three children, fear to give birth to any more lest they reduce the rest to beggary. But because the inheritance which He promised us is such as many may possess and no one be straitened, therefore hath He called into His brotherhood the peoples of the nations; and the only Son hath numberless brethren who say, "Our Father which art in Heaven." So said they who have been before

us; and so shall say those who will come after us. See how many brethren the only Son hath in His grace, sharing His inheritance with those for whom He suffered death. We had a father and mother on earth, that we might be born to labors and to death: but we have found other parents, God our Father, and the Church our Mother, by whom we are born into life eternal. Let us then consider, beloved, whose children we have begun to be; and let us live so as becomes those who have such a Father. See how that our Creator had condescended to be our Father!

We have heard whom we ought to call upon and with what hope of eternal inheritance we have begun to have a Father in Heaven; let us now hear what we must ask of Him. Of such a Father what shall we ask? Do we not ask rain of Him to-day, and yesterday, and the day before? This is no great thing to have asked of such a Father, and yet ye see with what sighings and with what great desire we ask for rain when death is feared—when that is feared which none can escape. For sooner or later every man must die, and we groan, and pray, and travail in pain, and cry to God that we may die a little later. How much more ought we to cry to Him that we may come to that place where we shall never die!

Therefore is it said, "Hallowed be Thy name." This we also ask of Him that His name may be hallowed in us; for holy is it always. And how is His name hallowed in us except while it makes us holy? For once we were not holy, and we are made holy by His name; but He is always holy, and His name always holy. It is for ourselves, not for God, that we pray. For we do not wish well to God, to whom no ill can ever happen. But we wish what is good for ourselves, that His holy name may be hallowed, that that which is always holy may be hallowed in us.

"Thy kingdom come." Come it surely will, whether we ask or no. Indeed, God hath an eternal kingdom. For when did He not reign? When did He begin to reign? For His kingdom hath no beginning, neither shall it have any end. But that ye may know that in this prayer also we pray for ourselves and not for God (for we do not say "Thy kingdom

come" as though we were asking that God may reign), we shall be ourselves His kingdom if, believing in Him, we make progress in this faith. All the faithful, redeemed by the blood of His only Son, will be His kingdom. And this His kingdom will come when the resurrection of the dead shall have taken place; for then He will come Himself. And when the dead are arisen He will divide them, as He Himself saith, "and He shall set some on the right hand and some on the left." To those who shall be on the right hand He will say, "Come, ye blessed of My Father, receive the kingdom." This is what we wish and pray for when we say, "Thy kingdom come,"—that it may come to us. For if we shall be reprobates that kingdom will come to others, but not to us. But if we shall be of that number who belong to the members of His only-begotten Son, His kingdom will come to us and will not tarry. For are there as many ages yet remaining as have already passed away?

"Thy will be done as in Heaven, so in earth." The third thing we pray for is that His will may be done as in Heaven so in earth. And in this, too, we wish well for ourselves. For the will of God must necessarily be done. It is the will of God that the good should reign and the wicked be damned. Is it possible that this will should not be done? But what good do we wish ourselves when we say, "Thy will be done as in Heaven, so in earth"? Give ear. For this petition may be understood in many ways, and many things are to be in our thoughts in this petition when we pray God, "Thy will be done as in Heaven, so in earth." As Thy angels offend Thee not, so may we also not offend Thee. Again, how is "Thy will be done as in Heaven, so in earth," understood? All the holy patriarchs, all the prophets, all the apostles, all the spiritual are, as it were, God's Heaven; and we in comparison of them are earth. "Thy will be done as in Heaven, so in earth"; as, in them, so in us also. Again, "Thy will be done as in Heaven, so in earth"; the Church of God is Heaven, His enemies are earth. So we wish for our enemies, that they, too, may believe and become Christians, and so the will of God be done as in Heaven, so also in earth. Again, "Thy will be done as in Heaven, so in earth." Our spirit is

Heaven and the flesh earth; as our spirit is renewed by believing, so may our flesh be renewed by rising again, and "the will of God be done as in Heaven, so in earth."

"Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil." Will this, again, be necessary in the life to come? "Lead us not into temptation" will not be said except where there can be temptation. We read in the book of holy Job, "Is not the life of man upon earth a temptation?" What, then, do we pray for? Hear what. The apostle James saith, "Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God." He spoke of those evil temptations whereby men are deceived and brought under the yoke of the devil. This is the kind of temptation he spoke of. For there is another sort of temptation which is called a proving; of this kind of temptation it is written, "The Lord your God tempteth (proveth) you to know whether ye love Him." What means "to know"? "To make you know," for He knoweth already. With that kind of temptation whereby we are deceived and seduced, God tempteth no man.

What, then, has He hereby taught us? To fight against our lusts. For ye are about to put away your sins in holy baptism; but lusts will still remain, wherewith ye must fight after that ye are regenerate. For a conflict with your own selves still remains. Let no enemy from without be feared: conquer thine own self, and the whole world is conquered. What can any tempter from without, whether the devil or the devil's minister, do against thee? Whosoever sets the hope of gain before thee to seduce thee, let him only find no covetousness in thee; and what can he who would tempt thee by gain effect? Whereas, if covetousness be found in thee, thou takest fire at the sight of gain, and art taken by the bait of this corrupt food; but if he find no covetousness in thee the trap remains spread in vain.

In the Dark Ages from the fourth to the tenth centuries few records of oratory or literature have survived. At the end of the eleventh century there was born Saint Bernard who became the most important churchman of the twelfth century. He was of noble descent and graceful address, but gave himself up to a life of asceticism and devotion. Some of the hymns as-

cribed to him are still familiar to-day and he was famous in his own time for his eloquence. He stirred both kings and crowds by his fervor in preaching of the Second Crusade, but the European expedition ended in complete disaster in Asia Minor. This passage from a sermon is quoted from the English translation of Michaud's "History of the Crusades."

ST. BERNARD

WHY ANOTHER CRUSADE?

You can not but know that we live in a period of chastisement and ruin; the enemy of mankind has caused the breath of corruption to fly over all regions; we behold nothing but unpunished wickedness. The laws of men or the laws of religion have no longer sufficient power to check depravity of manners and the triumph of the wicked. The demon of heresy has taken possession of the chair of truth, and God has sent forth His malediction upon His sanctuary.

Oh, ye who listen to me, hasten then to appease the anger of Heaven, but no longer implore His goodness by vain complaints; clothe not yourselves in sackcloth, but cover yourselves with your impenetrable bucklers; the din of arms, the dangers, the labors, the fatigues of war are the penances that God now imposes upon you. Hasten then to expiate your sins by victories over the infidels, and let the deliverance of holy places be the reward of your repentance.

If it were announced to you that the enemy had invaded your cities, your castles, your lands; had ravished your wives and your daughters, and profaned your temples—which among you would not fly to arms? Well, then, all these calamities, and calamities still greater, have fallen upon your brethren, upon the family of Jesus Christ, which is yours. Why do you hesitate to repair so many evils—to revenge so many outrages? Will you allow the infidels to contemplate in peace the ravages they have committed on Christian people? Remembering that their triumph will be a subject for grief to all ages and an eternal opprobrium upon the generation that has endured it. Yes, the living God has charged me to announce to you that He will punish them who shall not have defended Him against His enemies.

Fly then to arms; let a holy rage animate you in the fight, and let the Christian world resound with these words of the prophet, "Cursed be he who does not stain his sword with blood!" If the Lord calls you to the defense of His heritage think not that His hand has lost its power. Could He not send twelve legions of angels or breathe one word and all His enemies would crumble away into dust? But God has considered the sons of men, to open for them the road to His mercy. His goodness has caused to dawn for you a day of safety by calling on you to avenge His glory and His name.

Christian warriors, He who gave His life for you, to-day demands yours in return. These are combats worthy of you, combats in which it is glorious to conquer and advantageous to die. Illustrious knights, generous defenders of the Cross, remember the examples of your fathers who conquered Jerusalem, and whose names are inscribed in Heaven; abandon then the things that perish, to gather unfading palms, and conquer a Kingdom which has no end.

About a century after Saint Bernard came St. Francis of Assisi, one of the most beautiful characters of the Middle Ages and founder of the Mendicant Friars or the order of the Franciscans. As a boy Francis had led a life of pleasure, but a serious illness wrought a great change in him just as he was coming of age. He gave up wealth and friends and determined to live the simple life of poverty such as Christ had enjoined upon his apostles. He preached in simple style to any one who would listen to him—to robbers, to lepers and even we are told to birds.

ST. FRANCIS

SERMON TO THE BIRDS

My little sisters, the birds, much bounden are ye unto God, your Creator, and alway in every place ought ye to praise Him, for that He hath given you liberty to fly about everywhere, and hath also given you double and triple raiment; moreover He preserved your seed in the ark of Noah, that your race might

not perish out of the world; still more are ye beholden to Him for the element of the air which He hath appointed for you: beyond all this, ye sow not, neither do you reap; and God feedeth you, and giveth you the streams and fountains for your drink; the mountains and the valleys for your refuge and the high trees whereon to make your nests; and because ye know not how to spin or sew, God clotheth you, you and your children; wherefore your Creator loveth you much, seeing that He hath bestowed on you so many benefits; and therefore, my little sisters, beware of the sin of ingratitude, and study always to give praises unto God.

["When as Saint Francis spake these words to them, those birds began all of them to open their beaks, and stretch their necks, and spread their wings, and reverently bend their heads down to the ground, and by their acts and by their songs to show that the holy Father gave them joy exceeding great. And Saint Francis rejoiced with them, and was glad, and marvelled much at so great a company of birds and their most beautiful diversity and their good heed and sweet friendliness, for the which cause he devoutly praised their Creator in them. At the last, having ended the preaching, Saint Francis made over them the sign of the cross, and gave them leave to go away; and thereby all the birds with wondrous singing rose up in the air; and then, in the fashion of the cross that Saint Francis had made over them, divided themselves into four parts; and the one part flew toward the East, and the other towards the West, and the other towards the South, and the fourth towards the North, and each flight went on its way singing wondrous songs."]

From the great preachers of the Mediæval Church we turn to the assailant of the Popes and founder of Protestantism. Martin Luther was born in 1483 and died in 1546. He published at Wittenberg in 1517 his thesis against indulgences and was excommunicated in 1520. The papal bull on which Luther was condemned was publicly burned by the Reformer at Wittenberg. The Pope now appealed to the young Emperor, Charles the Fifth, to crush heresy in Germany, and Luther

was summoned before a Diet to be held at Worms, being granted a safe conduct by the Emperor. It was before the Diet that Luther gave the speech which follows.

MARTIN LUTHER

BEFORE THE DIET OF WORMS

Most Serene Emperor, and You Illustrious Princes and Gracious Lords:—I this day appear before you in all humility, according to your command, and I implore your majesty and your august highnesses, by the mercies of God, to listen with favor to the defense of a cause which I am well assured is just and right. I ask pardon, if by reason of my ignorance, I am wanting in the manners that befit a court; for I have not been brought up in kings' palaces, but in the seclusion of a cloister.

Two questions were yesterday put to me by his imperial majesty; the first, whether I was the author of the books whose titles were read; the second, whether I wished to revoke or defend the doctrine I have taught. I answered the first, and I adhere to that answer.

As to the second, I have composed writings on very different subjects. In some I have discussed Faith and Good Works, in a spirit at once so pure, clear, and Christian, that even my adversaries themselves, far from finding anything to censure, confess that these writings are profitable, and deserve to be perused by devout persons. The pope's bull, violent as it is, acknowledges this. What, then, should I be doing if I were now to retract these writings? Wretched man! I alone, of all men living, should be abandoning truths approved by the unanimous voice of friends and enemies, and opposing doctrines that the whole world glories in confessing!

I have composed, secondly, certain works against popery, wherein I have attacked such as by false doctrines, irregular lives, and scandalous examples, afflict the Christian world, and ruin the bodies and souls of men. And is not this confirmed by the grief of all who fear God? Is it not manifest that the laws and human doctrines of the popes entangle, vex, and distress the consciences of the faithful, while the crying and endless extortions of Rome engulf the property and wealth of

Christendom, and more particularly of this illustrious nation?

If I were to revoke what I have written on that subject, what should I do . . . but strengthen this tyranny, and open a wider door to so many and flagrant impieties? Bearing down all resistance with fresh fury, we should behold these proud men swell, foam, and rage more than ever! And not merely would the yoke which now weighs down Christians be made more grinding by my retractation—it would thereby become, so to speak, lawful,—for, by my retractation, it would receive confirmation from your most serene majesty, and all the States of the Empire. Great God! I should thus be like to an infamous cloak, used to hide and cover over every kind of malice and tyranny.

In the third and last place, I have written some books against private individuals, who had undertaken to defend the tyranny of Rome by destroying the faith. I freely confess that I may have attacked such persons with more violence than was consistent with my profession as an ecclesiastic: I do not think of myself as a saint; but neither can I retract these books, because I should, by so doing, sanction the impieties of my opponents, and they would thence take occasion to crush God's people with still more cruelty.

Yet, as I am a mere man, and not God, I will defend myself after the example of Jesus Christ, who said: "If I have spoken evil, bear witness against me" (John xviii, 23). How much more should I, who am but dust and ashes, and so prone to error, desire that every one should bring forward what he can against my doctrine.

Therefore, most serene emperor, and you illustrious princes, and all, whether high or low, who hear me, I implore you by the mercies of God to prove to me by the writings of the prophets and apostles that I am in error. As soon as I shall be convinced, I will instantly retract all my errors, and will myself be the first to seize my writings, and commit them to the flames.

What I have just said I think will clearly show that I have well considered and weighed the dangers to which I am exposing myself; but far from being dismayed by them, I rejoice exceedingly to see the Gospel this day, as of old, a cause of disturbance and disagreement. It is the character and destiny

of God's word. "I came not to send peace unto the earth, but a sword," said Jesus Christ. God is wonderful and awful in His counsels. Let us have a care, lest in our endeavors to arrest discords, we be bound to fight against the holy word of God and bring down upon our heads a frightful deluge of inextricable dangers, present disaster, and everlasting desolations. . . . Let us have a care lest the reign of the young and noble prince, the Emperor Charles, on whom, next to God, we build so many hopes, should not only commence, but continue and terminate its course under the most fatal auspices. I might cite examples drawn from the oracles of God. I might speak of Pharaohs, of kings of Babylon, or of Israel, who were never more contributing to their own ruin than when, by measures in appearances most prudent, they thought to establish their authority! "God removeth the mountains and they know not" (Job ix, 5).

In speaking thus, I do not suppose that such noble princes have need of my poor judgment; but I wish to acquit myself of a duty that Germany has a right to expect from her children. And so commending myself to your august majesty, and your most serene highnesses, I beseech you in all humility, not to permit the hatred of my enemies to rain upon me an indignation I have not deserved.

Since your most serene majesty and your high mightinesses require of me a simple, clear and direct answer, I will give one, and it is this: I cannot submit my faith either to the pope or to the council, because it is as clear as noonday that they have fallen into error and even into glaring inconsistency with themselves. If, then, I am not convinced by proof from Holy Scripture, or by cogent reasons, if I am not satisfied by the very text I have cited, and if my judgment is not in this way brought into subjection to God's word, I neither can nor will retract anything; for it cannot be right for a Christian to speak against his conscience. I stand here and can say no more. God help me. Amen.

The time of the Protestant Reformation is marked by much eloquence of both the Catholic and Protestant sides. Religion and theology are indeed the chief subjects for oratory. In

England, however, the affairs of State and Government soon demanded the services of orators. The contemporaries of Lord Bacon spoke in the highest terms of his eloquence, but few of his speeches have been preserved. We print the charge given to a judge, which defines so admirably the qualities which should distinguish a judicial court.

FRANCIS BACON

CHARGE TO JUSTICE HUTTON

The King's most excellent Majesty, being duly informed of your learning, integrity, discretion, experience, means, and reputation in your country, hath thought fit not to leave you these talents to be employed upon yourself only, but to call you to serve himself and his people, in the place of one of his Justices of the court of common pleas.

The court where you are to serve, is the local center and heart of the laws of this realm. Here the subject hath his assurance by fines and recoveries. Here he hath his fixed and invariable remedies by *præcipes* and writs of right. Here Justice opens not by a by-gate of privilege, but by the great gate of the King's original writs out of the Chancery. Here issues process of outlawry; if men will not answer law in this center of law, they shall be cast out of the circle of law. And therefore it is proper for you by all means with your wisdom and fortitude to maintain the laws of the realm. Wherein, nevertheless, I would not have you head-strong, but heart-strong; and to weigh and remember with yourself, that the twelve Judges of the realm are as the twelve lions under Solomon's throne; they must be lions, but yet lions under the throne; they must shew their stoutness in elevating and bearing up the throne.

To represent unto you the lines and portraitures of a good judge:—The first is, That you should draw your learning out of your books, not out of your brain.

2. That you should mix well the freedom of your own opinion with the reverence of the opinion of your fellows.

3. That you should continue the studying of your books, and not to spend on upon the old stock.

4. That you should fear no man's face, and yet not turn stoutness into bravery.

5. That you should be truly impartial, and not so as men may see affection through fine carriage.

6. That you be a light to jurors to open their eyes, but not a guide to lead them by the noses.

7. That you affect not the opinion of pregnancy and expedition by an impatient and catching hearing of the counselors at the bar.

8. That your speech be with gravity, as one of the sages of the law; and not talkative, nor with impertinent flying out to show learning.

9. That your hands, and the hands of your hands (I mean those about you), be clean, and uncorrupt from gifts, from meddling in titles, and from serving of turns, be they of great ones or small ones.

10. That you contain the jurisdiction of the court within the ancient merestones, without removing the mark.

11. Lastly, That you carry such a hand over your ministers and clerks, as that they may rather be in awe of you, than presume upon you.

These and the like points of the duty of a Judge, I forbear to enlarge; for the longer I have lived with you, the shorter shall my speech be to you; knowing that you come so furnished and prepared with these good virtues, as whatsoever I shall say cannot be new unto you. And therefore I will say no more unto you at this time, but deliver you your patent.

It is impossible to give more than a few passages from the many speeches which marked the civil war and the conflict between cavalier and puritan in England. Again we find oratory concerned in the great struggle for political freedom. Moreover, speakers are now trained in the ancient traditions of Greek and Latin oratory. The European world regards eloquence as a fine art requiring constant study and practice, which is essential to any man taking part in public affairs. Speeches are made by ministers of state, sometimes before monarchs and at other times before public assemblies, and yet again on the scaffold when facing death. Parliamentary de-

bate has its beginnings in England in the discussion which led to the great rebellion and the overthrow of the monarchy.

We include three speeches which afford a glimpse of the debates during these momentous events. The first is a speech by Wentworth, the Earl of Strafford, in his defense before the House of Lords when impeached for high treason. This faithful servant of a weak king is defending himself against the charges of the Commons and his words often display the finest temper of the cavalier. The second speech is by Pym, the patriot and lover of liberty, summing up the charges which the parliamentary party has brought against Strafford, and through him against an arbitrary and oppressive monarchy. The third speech is by Oliver Cromwell on the dissolution of Parliament which had not satisfied the desires and hopes of the Lord Protector. The speech also has the force and relentlessness of the great puritan.

WENTWORTH, EARL OF STRAFFORD

DEFENSE BEFORE THE HOUSE OF LORDS

My Lords,—I conjure you not to make yourselves so unhappy as to disable your lordships and your children from undertaking the great charge and trust of this commonwealth. You inherit that trust from your fathers. You are born to great thoughts. You are nursed for the weighty employments of the kingdom. But if it be once admitted that a counselor, for delivering his opinion with others at the council board, *candidé et casté,* with candor and purity of motive, under an oath of secrecy and faithfulness, shall be brought into question, upon some misapprehension or ignorance of law—if every word that he shall speak from sincere and noble intentions shall be drawn against him for the attainting of him, his children and posterity —I know not (under favor I speak it) any wise or noble person of fortune who will, upon such perilous and unsafe terms, adventure to be counselor to the king. Therefore, I beseech your lordships so to look on me that my misfortune may not bring an inconvenience to yourselves. And though my words were not so advised and discreet, or so well weighed as they ought to have been, yet I trust your lordships are too honorable and just to lay them to my charge as high treason. Opinions

may make a heretic, but that they make a traitor I have never heard till now.

I only admire how I, being an incendiary against the Scots in the twenty-third article, and become a confederate with them in the twenty-eighth article! how I could be charged for betraying Newcastle, and also for fighting with the Scots at Newburne, since fighting against them was no possible means of betraying the town into their hands, but rather to hinder their passage thither! I never advised war any further than, in my poor judgment, it concerned the very life of the king's authority and the safety and honor of his kingdom. Nor did I ever see that an advantage could be made by a war in Scotland, where nothing could be gained but hard blows. For my part, I honor that nation, but I wish they may ever be under their own climate. I have no desire that they should be too well acquainted with the better soil of England.

My lords, you see what has been alleged for this constructive, or rather, destructive treason. For my part, I have not the judgment to conceive that such treason is agreeable to the fundamental grounds either of reason or of law. Not of reason, for how can that be treason in the lump or mass which is not so in any of its parts? or how can that make a thing treasonable which is not so in itself? Not of law, since neither statute, common law, nor practice hath from the beginning of the government ever mentioned such a thing.

It is hard, my lords, to be questioned upon a law which cannot be shown! Where hath this fire lain hid for so many hundred years, without smoke to discover it, till it thus bursts forth to consume me and my children? My lords, do we not live under laws, and must we be punished by laws before they are made? Far better were it to live by no laws at all, but to be governed by those characters of virtue and discretion which nature hath stamped upon us, than to put this necessity of divination upon a man, and to accuse him of a breach of law before it is a law at all! If a waterman upon the Thames split his boat by grating upon an anchor, and the same have no buoy appended to it, the owner of the anchor is to pay the loss; but if a buoy be set there, every man passeth upon his own peril. Now where is the mark, where is the token set upon the crime, to declare it to be high treason?

My lords, be pleased to give that regard to the peerage of England as never to expose yourselves to such moot points, such constructive interpretations of law. If there must be a trial of wits, let the subject matter be something else than the lives and honor of peers! It will be wisdom for yourselves and your posterity to cast into the fire these bloody and mysterious volumes of constructive and arbitrary treason, as the primitive Christians did their books of curious arts; and betake yourselves to the plain letter of the law and statute, which telleth what is and what is not treason, without being ambitious to be more learned in the art of killing than our forefathers. These gentlemen tell us that they speak in defense of the commonwealth against my arbitrary laws. Give me leave to say it, I speak in defense of the commonwealth against their arbitrary treason!

It is now full two hundred and forty years since any man was touched for this alleged crime to this height before myself. Let us not awaken those sleeping lions, to our destruction, by taking up a few musty records that have lain by the walls for so many ages, forgotten or neglected.

My lords, what is my present misfortune may be forever yours! It is not the smallest part of my grief that not the crime of treason, but my other sins, which are exceeding many, have brought me to this bar; and, except your lordships' wisdom provide against it, the shedding of my blood may make way for the tracing out of yours. You, your estates, your posterity, lie at the stake!

For my poor self, if it were not for your lordships' interest, and the interest of a saint in heaven who hath left me here two pledges on earth, I should never take the pains to keep up this ruinous cottage of mine. It is loaded with such infirmities that in truth I have no great pleasure to carry it about with me any longer. Nor could I ever leave it at a fitter time than this, when I hope that the better part of the world would perhaps think that by my misfortunes I had given a testimony of my integrity to my God, my king, and my country. I thank God I count not the afflictions of the present life to be compared to that glory which is to be revealed in the time to come.

My lords! my lords! my lords! something more I had intended to say, but my voice and my spirit fail me. Only I do

in all humility and submission cast myself down at your lordships' feet and desire that I may be a beacon to keep you from shipwreck. Do not put such rocks in your own way, which no prudence, no circumspection can eschew or satisfy, but by your utter ruin!

And so, my lords, even so, with all tranquillity of mind, I submit myself to your decision. And whether your judgment in my case—I wish it were not the case of you all—be for life or for death, it shall be righteous in my eyes and shall be received with a *Te Deum laudamus*—we give God the praise.

JOHN PYM

AGAINST STRAFFORD

My Lords,—There hath been much time spent to prove our charge, and your lordships have heard my lord of Strafford's defense with as much patience. You have also heard our evidence summed up, whereby we have proved that he hath by traitorous words, counsels and actions traitorously endeavored to subvert the fundamental laws of England and Ireland, and, instead thereof, to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government against law. This, my lords, is that poisonous arrow that hath tainted his blood, this is that cup of deadly wine that hath intoxicated him.

My lords it comes to my share to show you how mischievous an act of treason it is by that law that he hath appealed unto, which is the supreme law, to wit, public good; for his position was this, that *salus populi* is *suprema lex*. All laws are derived from this as its fountain, and end here as its proper center. And those actions that are opposite to this are against law.

First, my lords, it is such an offense as comprehends all offenses, such a treason as comprehends all treasons. The earth, my lords, is a seminary of all flowers, so is this a seminary of all offenses.

My lords this law puts a difference betwixt good and evil: take away the law, my lords, and nature becomes a law to itself. As pride will be a law, lust will be a law, rapine a law,

treason a law, which laws have ruled in Ireland ever since my lord came thither.

Take away the king's protection from the people, and you take away the people's allegiance to the king. Prerogative is the bounds of liberty; and, my lords, they must not contest one against another. My lords, I beseech you consider, you have all under this custody; and, if you take away this, you take away your goods, liberties, and lives.

My lords, he saith that Ireland was a conquered nation. Why, were not all nations conquered? England, Wales, etc.?

The next is this; that it is an offense full of danger to the king's person and crown, it nourisheth dissension and tumults in a people. If you consider the histories of the nations under arbitrary government, you shall find them full of cruelty and bloody massacres; yea, if you please to peruse our English histories, you shall find that, when arbitrary government was set up, how many kings fell by cruel and bloody hands, which is fearful to relate.

Thirdly, my lords, it is dangerous to the king: first, in respect of his honor; secondly, in respect of his profit; and, thirdly, in respect of his greatness: yet all these have been put on upon the face of this treason as so many vizards. Can it be, my lords, for the king's honor, to have his ministers to lay all the fault upon the king? To kill, to imprison, to use rapine, to levy war against his people, and to ruin the State, and then all these dishonorable acts to be laid on the king? Is this for the king's honor?

Secondly, it is contrary to his profit; for, if there be not an affectionate supply from the people to the king, he can never grow in his revenue.

Nay, this, my lords, is the king's most certain revenue, that issues from the affection of his people; for other revenue, as lands or the like, are subject to many inconveniences, to many subtractions and pensions, but this is free and wholly to himself. These fourteen years past, since there hath been an unhappy cessation of Parliamentary proceedings, the king hath had less revenue and it doth him less good.

Nay, there hath been more wanting to the king than many years before. Again, it is unprofitable, and that is worse, for

the king lost by it; for it hath cost him these two years more than it cost Queen Elizabeth in all her wars in Ireland and Spain,—yea, I fear, more than is to be repaired in an age.

Thirdly, in point of greatness: the world is a society of kingdoms, and it is not enough for a king to be great at home, but to equal his fellow princes abroad; nay, to be above them in honor and majesty, in riches and glory. But, my lords, these counsels of late that have been given his Majesty have rendered him contemptible to his enemies, useless to his distressed friends, and, had they not been prevented, in time would have made him incapable of any design at home or abroad.

A fourth consideration is this, my lords, it is destructive to wealth and valor; it corrupts our peace, and in peace makes us have the malignities of war; and for wealth who will venture his goods, life, his liberty, in the way of trading and commerce, when he knows not upon the return of it whether it be his own or not?

Nay, my lords, it imbaseth the spirits and valor of a nation when they must stand in fear of pilloring, scaffolding, and the like punishments; it makes men to be of base spirits. Now, my lords, to imbase the king's coin, if it be but sixpence or twelvepence, 'tis treason by the law, and a man must die for it. What is it, then, to imbase our spirits, my lords? Truly it is a matter of great importance.

Fifthly, it doth disable the king and makes him unfit to deal with foreign enemies; for every one thinks to slip his neck out of the collar when he shall be forced to it.

The sixth consideration is that it is against the covenant betwixt the king and his people.

Before, my lords, I spoke of a legal oath, but now I speak of a personal, for we swear our allegiance to him, and he the maintenance of our laws to us; he is our husband, and we his wife; he is our father, and we his children; he is to maintain our liberties, and we his dignities and our duties. And, my lords, Justice Thorpe was condemned and executed for breaking the King's oath. My Lords, he broke not his own oath, nor did the king break his oath; and yet for violating that oath that the king had taken to his subjects he suffered. Ah, what

an unfortunate man, then, is the prisoner at the bar, that hath in all his counsels, in all his words, in all his actions, broken the king's oath, and as much as in him lay, violently persuaded the king to countenance him in all his actions!

The seventh consideration is this, my lords: it is against the end of government, for the end of government is to preserve men in their estates, lives and liberties; but an arbitrary power destroys all this. The end of government is to advance virtue and goodness and to punish vice: but this cherisheth all disorder.

Now, my lords, I come to show the vanity of his excuses that he hath made for himself.

The first is the liberty of giving counsel, being a counsellor. True, my lords, he hath this liberty, but it is bounded within its lists, and it must be such a counsel as must stand with the sacred Majesty and the prosperity and weal of his subjects; for, if counsel be bad, it poisons the consciences of princes, it infects their ears, for all government proceeds from the prince, as from a fountain. Now, if the fountain be poisoned, how can the streams be free?

A second shift is that he hopes your lordships will be careful to secure your posterity and not to admit of this treason.

My lords, I know your lordships will be careful to secure yourselves, but by your virtues, not by your vices.

The third excuse is the goodness of his intentions. Truly, my lords, good and evil lie close together, not easily to be discerned, if they be natural corruptions; but for murder, adultery, rapines, and treasons, these are so monstrous that they may easily be distinguished. And I cannot be persuaded that ever he intended well that acted so ill.

The fourth excuse is the king's necessities.

My lords, this necessity came from his own counsels.

A fifth excuse is that it was for the king's honor and the maintenance of the king's power.

My lords, it hath been declared unto you that the king's power doth not extend to anything against law by which he hath sworn to rule us and to maintain our liberties and privileges for us; and this hath been declared by five Parliaments, and also will appear in the case of the Petition of Right, and in the case of ship-money.

A sixth is that he advised the king to do it with moderation and reparation.

My lords, this is a contradiction; for there can be no reparation for this.

The seventh excuse is that no horrid facts did follow his counsels. Truly, my lords, we thank God, his sacred Majesty, and his wise counsel for that, or else God knows what fearful things would have befallen us; nor are we free from it as yet.

To conclude now, my lords, give me leave to entreat you to consider the treasons ordinarily practiced. When the act is done, they cease, as in killing that noble king of France, and the several plots against Queen Elizabeth; but this treason of my lord of Strafford's is a standing treason, which, when it had been done, it had been permanent from generation to generation.

And now, my lords, these laws that he would have overthrown must now be his judges, and he is to be judged by law; and that law will have mark enough of it to describe it, for it is a law against such as break the fundamental law of the kingdom.

And, my lords, give me leave to inform you that under favor this is not to make a new way for blood; nor is the crime of treason in my lord of Strafford the less because none would venture upon such a horrid treason in two hundred and forty years.

But, my lords, for the making of our charge good by law, as we have fully proved it by testimony,we must resort to counsel with the House of Commons and trust to your lordships' justice.

OLIVER CROMWELL

ON THE DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT

Now to speak a word or two to you. Of that, I must profess in the name of the same Lord, and wish there had been no cause that I should have thus spoken to you! I told you that I came with joy the first time, with some regret the second; yet now I speak with most regret of all! I look upon you as having among you many persons that I could lay down my life individually for. I could, through the grace of God, desire to lay down my life for you. So

far am I from having an unkind or unchristian heart towards you in your particular capacities! I have this indeed as a work most incumbent upon me; this of speaking these things to you. I consulted what might be my duty in such a day as this, casting up all considerations. I must confess, as I told you, that I did think occasionally this nation had suffered extremely in the respects mentioned, as also in the disappointment of their expectations of that justice which was due to them by your sitting thus long. "Sitting thus long," and what have you brought forth? I did not nor cannot comprehend what it is. I would be loath to call it a fate; that were too paganish a word. But there hath been something in it that we had not in our expectations.

I did think, also, for myself, that I am like to meet with difficulties, and that this nation will not, as it is fit it should not, be deluded with *pretexts* of necessity in that great business of raising money. And were it not that I can make some dilemmas upon which to resolve some things of my conscience, judgment, and actions, I should shrink at the very prospect of my encounters. Some of them are general, some are more special. Supposing this cause or this business must be carried on, it is either of God or of man. If it be of man, I would I had never touched it with a finger. If I had not had a hope fixed in me that this cause and this business was of God, I would many years ago have run from it. If it be of God, He will bear it up. If it be of man, it will tumble; as everything that hath been of man since the world began hath done. And what are all our histories, and other traditions of actions in former times, but God manifesting Himself, that He hath shaken, and tumbled down and trampled upon everything that He had not planted? And as this is, so let the All-wise God deal with it. If this be of human structure and invention, and if it be an old plotting and contriving to bring things to this issue, and that they are not the births of Providence, then they will tumble. But if the Lord take pleasure in England, and if He will do us good, He is very able to bear us up! Let the difficulties be whatsoever they will, we shall in His strength be able to encounter with them.

And I bless God I have been inured to difficulties, and I never found God failing when I trusted in Him. I can laugh

and sing, in my heart, when I speak of these things to you or elsewhere. And though some may think it is a hard thing to raise money without parliamentary authority upon this nation; yet I have another argument to the good people of this nation, if they would be safe, and yet have no better principle: Whether they prefer the having of their will though it be their destruction, rather than comply with things of necessity? That will excuse me. But I should wrong my native country to suppose this.

For I look at the people of these nations as the blessing of the Lord, and they are a people blessed by God. They have been so, and they will be so, by reason of that immortal seed which hath been, and is, among them—those regenerated ones in the land of several judgments who are all the flock of Christ, and lambs of Christ. "His," though perhaps under many unruly passions and troubles of spirit, whereby they give disquiet to themselves and others; yet they are not so to God, since to us He is a God of other patience, and He will own the least of truth in the hearts of His people. And the people being the blessing of God, they will not be so angry but they will prefer their safety to their passions, and their real security to forms, when necessity calls for supplies. Had they not well been acquainted with this principle, they had never seen this day of Gospel liberty.

We know the Lord hath poured this nation from vessel to vessel, till He poured it into your lap, when you came first together. I am confident that it came so into your hands, and was not judged by you to be from counterfeited or feigned necessity, but by Divine providence and dispensation. And this I speak with more earnestness, because I speak for God and not for men. I would have any man to come and tell of the transactions that have been, and of those periods of time wherein God hath made these revolutions, and find where he can fix a feigned necessity! I could recite particulars, if either my strength would serve me to speak, or yours to hear. If you would consider the great hand of God in His great dispensations, you would find that there is scarce a man who fell off, at any period of time when God had any work to do, who can give God or His work at this day a good word.

"It was," say some, "the cunning of the Lord Protector"

—I take it to myself—"it was the craft of such a man and his plot that hath brought it about!" And, as they say in other countries, "There are five or six cunning men in England that have skill; they do all these things." Oh, what blasphemy is this! Because men that are without God in the world, and walk not with Him, know not what it is to pray or believe, and to receive returns from God, and to be spoken unto by the spirit of God, who speaks without a written word sometimes, yet according to it! God hath spoken heretofore in divers manners. Let Him speak as He pleaseth. Hath He not given us liberty, nay, is it not our duty, to go to the law and the testimony? And there we shall find that there *have* been impressions, in extraordinary cases, as well without the written word as with it. And therefore there is no difference in the thing thus asserted from truths generally received, except we will exclude the spirit, without whose concurrence all other teachings are ineffectual. He doth speak to the hearts and consciences of men, and leadeth them to His law and testimony, and there "also" He speaks to them, and so gives them double teachings. According to that of Job: "God speaketh once, yea twice;" and to that of David: "God hath spoken once, yea twice have I heard this." These men that live upon their *mumpsimus* and *sumpsimus,* their masses and service-books, their dead and carnal worship, no marvel if they be strangers to God, and to the works of God, and to spiritual dispensations. And because *they* say and believe thus must we do so too? We, in this land, have been otherwise instructed, even by the word, and works, and spirit of God.

To say that men bring forth these things when God doth them—judge you if God will bear this! I wish that every sober heart, though he hath had temptations upon him of deserting this cause of God, yet may take heed how he provokes and falls into the hands of the Living God by such blasphemies as these! According to the tenth of the Hebrews: "If we sin willfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remains no more sacrifice for sin." "A terrible word!" It was spoken to the Jews who, having professed Christ, apostatized from Him. What then? Nothing but a fearful "falling into the hands of the

Living God!" They that shall attribute to this or that person the contrivances and production of those mighty things God hath wrought in the midst of us, and "fancy" that they have not been the revolutions of Christ Himself, "upon whose shoulders the government is laid," they speak against God, and they fall under His hand without a mediator. That is, if we deny the spirit of Jesus Christ the glory of all His works in the world by which He rules kingdoms, and doth administer, and is the rod of His strength, we provoke the Mediator, and He may say: "I will leave you to God, I will not intercede for you; let Him tear you to pieces! I will leave thee to fall into God's hands; thou deniest me my sovereignty and power committed to me; I will not intercede nor mediate for thee; thou fallest into the hands of the Living God!"

Therefore, whatsoever you may judge men for, howsoever you may say, "This is cunning, and politic, and subtle," take heed again, I say, how you judge of His revolutions as the product of men's inventions! I may be thought to press too much upon this theme. But I pray God it may stick upon your hearts and mine. The worldly-minded man knows nothing of this, but is a stranger to it; and thence his atheisms, and murmurings at instruments, yea, repining at God Himself. And no wonder considering the Lord hath done such things amongst us as have not been known in the world these thousand years, and yet notwithstanding is not owned by us!

There is another necessity, which you have put upon us, and we have not sought. I appeal to God, angels, and men, if I shall "now" raise money according to the article in the government, whether I am not compelled to do it? Which "government" had power to call you hither, and did; and instead of seasonably providing for the army, you have labored to overthrow the government, and the army is now upon free-quarter! And you would never so much as let me hear a tittle from you concerning it. Where is the fault? Has it not been as if you had a purpose to put this extremity upon us and the nation? I hope this was not in your minds. I am willing to judge so. But such is the state into which

we are reduced. By the designs of some in the army, who are now in custody, it was designed to get as many of them as possible, through discontent for want of money, the army being in a barren country, near thirty weeks behind in pay, and upon other specious pretenses, to march for England out of Scotland; and, in discontent, to seize their general there [General Monk], a faithful and honest man, that so another [Colonel Overton] might head the army. And all this opportunity taken from your delays! Whither will this be a thing of feigned necessity? What could it signify but, "The army are in discontent already, and we will make them live upon stones; we will make them cast off their governors and discipline"?

What can be said to this? I list not to unsaddle myself, and put the fault upon your backs. Whether it hath been for the good of England, whilst men have been talking of this thing or the other, and pretending liberty and many good words—whether it has been as it should have been? I am confident you cannot think it has. The nation will not think so. And if the worst should be made of things, I know not what the Cornish men nor the Lincolnshire men may think, or other counties; but I believe they will all think *they are not safe*. A temporary suspension of "caring for the greatest liberties and privileges" (if it were so, which is denied) would not have been of such damage as the not providing against free-quarter hath run the nation upon. And if it be my "liberty" to walk abroad in the fields, or to take a journey, yet it is not my wisdom to do so when my house is on fire!

I have troubled you with a long speech, and I believe it may not have the same resentment with all that it hath with some. But because that is unknown to me, I shall leave it to God; and conclude with this: That I think myself bound, as in my duty to God, and to the people of these nations, for their safety and good in every respect—I think it my duty to tell you that it is not for the profit of these nations, nor for common and public good, for you to continue here any longer. And therefore I do declare unto you that I do dissolve this Parliament.

At the time that England was overturning the monarchy and establishing the Protectorate under Cromwell, France was under the rule of Louis XIV who dispensed with parliaments and established an absolute monarchy. Under his rule we do not find political orations or appeals for liberty. We do find, however, Bossuet, a great preacher, and one of the most famous panegyrists. His funeral orations are the most celebrated of his writings. In fact he may be regarded as the creator of this form of oratory. A defender of the divine rights of kings, his orations are marked by exaggerated eulogy but they are remarkable for the grandeur of their language. His is the eloquence of the hero worshiper.

JACQUES BENIGNE BOSSUET, BISHOP OF MEAUX

FUNERAL ORATION ON THE PRINCE DE CONDÉ

In beginning this address, in which I purpose to celebrate the immortal glory of Louis de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, I feel myself overweighted both by the grandeur of the subject and, to be frank, by the fruitlessness of the effort. What part of the inhabited world has not heard of the victories of the Prince de Condé and the wonders of his life? They are recounted everywhere; the Frenchman who boasts of them in the presence of the foreigner tells him nothing which the latter does not know; and in no matter how exalted a strain I might sound his praises, I should still feel that in your hearts you were convinced that I deserved the reproach of falling far short of doing him justice. An orator, feeble as he is, cannot do anything for the perpetuation of the glory of extraordinary souls. Le Sage was right when he said that "their deeds alone can praise them"; no other praise is of any effect where great names are concerned; and it needs but the simple story of his deeds faithfully recorded to sustain the glory of the Prince de Condé. But, while awaiting the appearance of the history which is to tell the story of his life to coming ages, it is necessary to satisfy as best we may the public recognition of his merit and bow to the order of the greatest of all sovereigns. What does not the kingdom owe to a prince who has honored the house of France,

the French name, his century, and, so to speak, all mankind? Louis the Great himself shares these sentiments; after having mourned this great man, and by his tears, shed in the presence of his entire court, rather than by words, uttered the most glorious eulogy he could receive, he assembled together in this celebrated temple all that is most august in his realm, in order that the last rites to the memory of this prince might there be celebrated; and he wishes that my feeble voice should animate all this funeral equipage.

Let us try, then, to forget our grief. Here an object greater and worthier of this pulpit presents itself to my mind: it is God who makes warriors and conquerors. "It is thou," said David unto Him, "who hast trained my hand to battle, and my fingers to hold the sword." If He inspires courage, no less is He the bestower of other great qualities, both of heart and of mind. His mighty hand is the source of everything; it is He who sends from heaven generous sentiments, wise counsels and every worthy thought. But He wishes us to know how to distinguish between the gifts He abandons to His enemies and those He reserves for His servants. What distinguishes His friends from all others is piety. Until this gift of Heaven has been received, all others not only are as naught, but even bring ruin on those who are endowed with them; without this inestimable gift of piety what would the Prince de Condé have been, even with his great heart and great genius? No, my brethren, if piety had not, as it were, consecrated his other virtues, these princes would have found no consolation for their grief, nor this pontiff any confidence in his prayers, nor would I myself utter with conviction the praises which I owe so great a man. . . .

God gave him that dauntless valor that France might enjoy safety during the minority of a king but four years old. Let him grow up, this king, cherished of Heaven, and all will yield to his exploits; rising above his own followers, as well as his enemies, he will know how sometimes to make use of, and at others to dispense with, his most illustrious captains, and alone, under the hand of God, who will be his constant aid, he will be seen to be the staunch rampart of his dominions. But God chose the Duc d'Enghien to defend him in his infancy. So, toward the first days of his reign, at the age

of twenty-two years, the duke conceived a plan in the armor of which the seasoned veterans could find no vulnerable point; but the victory justified his course at Rocroi. The opposing force, it is true, is stronger; it is composed of those old Walloon, Italian and Spanish regiments that, up to that time, could not be broken; but at what valuation should be placed the courage inspired in our troops by the pressing necessities of the state, by past successes, and by a young prince of the blood in whose eyes could be read victory? Don Francisco de Mellos awaits the onset with a firm foot; and, without being able to retreat, the two generals and the two armies seemed to have wished to imprison themselves in the woods and the marshes in order to decide the issue of combat like two champions in the lists. Then what a sight is presented to the eye! The young prince appears another man; touched by an object so worthy, his great soul displays all its sublimity; his courage waxes with the dangers it has to encounter and his penetration becomes keener as his ardor increases. That night, which had to be spent in the presence of the enemy, like the vigilant commander that he was, he was the last to retire. But never were his slumbers more peaceful. On the eve of so momentous a day, when the first battle is to be fought, his mind is entirely tranquil, so thoroughly is he in his element; and it is well known that, on the morrow, at the hour he had indicated, it was necessary to awaken this second Alexander from a deep slumber. Do you see him as he rushes on to victory or death? No sooner had he inspired the ranks with the ardor with which his soul was animated than he was seen almost at the same time to press the right wing of the enemy, support our own shaken by the shock of the charge, rally the disheartened and almost vanquished French forces, put to flight the victorious Spaniards, carrying dismay everywhere, and terrifying by his lightning glances those who escape his blows.

There still remained that dreaded infantry of the Spanish army, whose great battalions in close line of battle like so many towers, but towers which knew how to repair their breaches, were unshaken by the onset, and, though the rest of the army was put to rout, maintained a steady fire. Thrice the young conqueror attempted to break the ranks of these

intrepid warriors, thrice was he repulsed by the valorous Comte de Fontaines, who was borne to the scene of combat in his invalid's chair, by reason of his bodily infirmities, thus demonstrating that the warrior's soul has the ascendant over the body it animates. But at last was he forced to yield. In vain does Beck, with a body of fresh cavalry, hasten his march through the woods in order to attack our exhausted soldiers; the prince has forestalled him; the defeated battalions are asking quarter. But victory for the Duc d'Enghien was destined to be more terrible than the combat. While, with an air of confidence, he advances to receive the surrender of these brave fellows, they, on their part, still on their guard, are in dread of being surprised by a fresh attack. The frightful havoc wrought by the discharge of their musketry infuriates our troops. Carnage is now rampant; the bloodshed intoxicates the soldiers to a high degree. But the prince, who could not bear to see these lions slaughtered like so many lambs, calmed their overwrought feelings and enhanced the pleasure of victory by that of pardoning the vanquished.

What then, was the astonishment of these veteran troops and their brave officers when they perceived that their only salvation was to give themselves up to their conqueror! With what wonder did they regard the young prince, whose victory had rendered still more impressive his customary proud bearing, to which, however, his clemency had imparted a new grace. How willingly would he have saved the life of the brave Comte de Fontaines, but unhappily he lay stretched upon the field of battle among the thousands of dead bodies, those whose loss is still kept by Spain. Spain knew not that the prince who caused her the loss of so many old regiments on the day of Rocroi was to finish the rest on the plains of Lens. Thus the first victory was the guarantee of many others. The prince bent his knee and on the field of battle rendered to the Lord of Hosts the glory He had sent him. There was celebrated the deliverance of Rocroi, and thanksgivings were uttered that the threats of a once dreaded enemy had resulted in his own shameful defeat; that the regency was strengthened, France calmed, and a reign which was to be so illustrious begun by an augury so auspicious. The army led in thanksgiving; all France followed; the first venture of the Duc

d'Enghien was lauded to the skies. Praise sufficient to render others forever illustrious; but for him it was but the first stage in his career!

[The orator continues his narrative of the prince's military exploits and then of his qualities of heart and mind.]

Such as he had been in all combats—serene, self-possessed, and occupied without anxiety, only with what was necessary to sustain them—such also he was in that last conflict. Death appeared to him no more frightful, pale, and languishing, than amid the fires of battle and in the prospect of victory. While sobbings were heard all around him, he continued, as if another than himself were their object, to give his orders; and if he forbade them weeping, it was not because it was a distress to him, but simply a hinderance. At that time he extended his cares to the least of his domestics. With a liberality worthy of his birth and of their services, he loaded them with gifts, and honored them still more with mementoes of his regard.

What was then taking place in that soul? What new light dawned upon him? What sudden ray pierced the cloud, and instantly dissipated, not only all the darkness of sense, but the very shadows, and, if I dare to say it, the sacred obscurities of faith? What then became of those splendid titles by which our pride is flattered? On the very verge of glory, and in the dawning of a light so beautiful, how rapidly vanish the phantoms of the world! How dim appears the splendor of the most glorious victory! How profoundly we despise the glory of the world, and how deeply regret that our eyes were ever dazzled by its radiance! Come, ye people, come now—or, rather, ye princes and lords, ye judges of the earth, and ye who open to man the portals of heaven; and more than all others, ye princes and princesses, nobles descended from a long line of kings, lights of France, but to-day in gloom, and covered with your grief as with a cloud—come and see how little remains of a birth so august, a grandeur so high, a glory so dazzling! Look around on all sides, and see all that magnificence and devotion can do to honor so great a hero: titles and inscriptions, vain signs of that which

is no more; shadows which weep around a tomb, fragile images of a grief which time sweeps away with everything else; columns which appear as if they would bear to heaven the magnificent evidence of our emptiness—nothing, indeed, wanting in all these honors but he to whom they are rendered! Weep, then, over these feeble remains of human life; weep over that mournful immortality we give to heroes.

But draw near, especially ye who run, with such ardor, the career of glory—intrepid and warrior spirits! Who was more worthy to command you, and in whom did ye find command more honorable? Mourn, then, that great captain, and weeping, say: "Here is a man that led us through all hazards, under whom were formed so many renowned captains, raised by his example, to the highest honors of war; his shadow might yet gain battles; and lo! in his silence his very name animates us, and at the same time warns us, that to find, at death, some rest from our toils, and not arrive unprepared at our eternal dwelling, we must, with an earthly king, yet serve the King of Heaven." Serve, then, that immortal and ever-merciful King, who will value a sigh, or a cup of cold water, given in His name, more than all others will value the shedding of your blood. And begin to reckon the time of your useful services from the day on which you gave yourselves to so beneficent a Master. Will not ye, too, come—ye whom he honored by making you his friends? To whatever extent you enjoyed this confidence, come all of you, and surround this tomb. Mingle your prayers with your tears; and while admiring, in so great a prince, a friendship so excellent, an intercourse so sweet, preserve the remembrance of a hero whose goodness equaled his courage. Thus may he ever prove your cherished instructor; thus may you profit by his virtues and may his death, which you deplore, serve you at once for consolation and example.

By the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century England had succeeded again in establishing parliamentary government with a freedom of debate. Under these circumstances political oratory flourishes. Toward the

end of that century occurs what can be called the golden period of British oratory, the time of Chatham, Burke, Fox, Sheridan and Pitt. These orators, however, and their speeches belong to the main body of this volume. Before passing to them we note the continuation of pulpit oratory and cite a few notable sermons. The first of these is by Fénelon, the great Catholic preacher, who was born in 1651 and died in 1715. The second is by John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, who was born in 1703 and died in 1791. He is said to have preached 40,000 sermons in his long and active career. The third sermon is by Jonathan Edwards, famous American preacher and Calvinist theologian. He was born in the same year as Wesley but died thirty years earlier in 1758.

Fénelon was noted for his piety of life as well as for his numerous writings and sermons. Our selection is from a sermon on true and false simplicity.

FÉNELON, ARCHBISHOP OF CAMBRAI

TRUE AND FALSE SIMPLICITY

THERE is a simplicity that is a defect, and a simplicity that is a virtue. Simplicity may be a want of discernment. When we speak of a person as simple, we may mean that he is credulous and perhaps vulgar. The simplicity that is a virtue is something sublime; every one loves and admires it; but it is difficult to say exactly what this virtue is.

Simplicity is an uprightness of soul that has no reference to self; it is different from sincerity, and it is a still higher virtue. We see many people who are sincere, without being simple; they only wish to pass for what they are, and they are unwilling to appear what they are not; they are always thinking of themselves, measuring their words, and recalling their thoughts, and reviewing their actions, from the fear that they have done too much or too little. These persons are sincere, but they are not simple; they are not at ease with others, and others are not at ease with them; they are not free, ingenuous, natural; we prefer people who are less correct, less perfect, and who are less artificial. This is the decision of man, and it is the judgment of God, who would not have us so oc-

cupied with ourselves, and thus, as it were, always arranging our features in a mirror.

To be wholly occupied with others, never to look within, is the state of blindness of those who are entirely engrossed by what is present and addressed to their senses; this is the very reverse of simplicity. To be absorbed in self in whatever engages us, whether we are laboring for our fellow beings or for God—to be wise in our own eyes, reserved, and full of ourselves, troubled at the least thing that disturbs our self-complacency, is the opposite extreme. This is false wisdom, which, with all its glory, is but little less absurd than that folly which pursues only pleasure. The one is intoxicated with all it sees around it; the other with all that it imagines it has within; but it is delirium in both. To be absorbed in the contemplation of our own minds is really worse than to be engrossed by outward things, because it appears like wisdom and yet is not; we do not think of curing it; we pride ourselves upon it; we approve of it; it gives us an unnatural strength; it is a sort of frenzy; we are not conscious of it; we are dying, and we think ourselves in health.

Simplicity consists in a just medium, in which we are neither too much excited, nor too composed. The soul is not carried away by outward things, so that it cannot make necessary reflections; neither does it make those continual references to self, that a jealous sense of its own excellence multiplies to infinity. That freedom of the soul, which looks straight onward in its path, losing no time to reason upon its steps, to study them, or to contemplate those that it has already taken, is true simplicity.

The first step in the progress of the soul is disengagement from outward things, that it may enter into itself, and contemplate its true interests: this is a wise self-love. The second is, to join to this the idea of God whom it fears: this is the feeble beginning of true wisdom; but the soul is still fixed upon itself; it is afraid that it does not fear God enough; it is still thinking of itself. These anxieties about ourselves are far removed from that peace and liberty which a true and simple love inspires; but it is not yet time for this; the soul must pass through this trouble; this operation of the spirit of God in our hearts comes to us gradually; we approach step

by step to this simplicity. In the third and last state, we begin to think of God more frequently, we think of ourselves less, and insensibly we lose ourselves in Him.

The more gentle and docile the soul is, the more it advances in this simplicity. It does not become blind to its own defects, and unconscious of its imperfections; it is more than ever sensible of them; it feels a horror of the slightest sin, it sees more clearly its own corruption; but this sensibility does not arise from dwelling upon itself, but by the light from the presence of God we see how far removed we are from infinite purity.

Thus simplicity is free in its course, since it makes no preparation; but it can only belong to the soul that is purified by a true penitence. It must be the fruit of a perfect renunciation of self, and an unreserved love of God. But though they, who become penitents, and tear themselves from the vanities of the world, make self the object of thought, yet they must avoid an excessive and unquiet occupation with themselves, such as would trouble, and embarrass, and retard them in their progress. Dwelling too much upon self produces in weak minds useless scruples and superstition and in stronger minds a presumptuous wisdom. Both are contrary to true simplicity, which is free and direct, and gives itself up, without reserve and with a generous self-forgetfulness, to the Father of spirits. How free, how intrepid are the motions, how glorious the progress that the soul makes, when delivered from all low, and interested, and unquiet cares!

If we desire that our friends be simple and free with us, disencumbered of self in their intimacy with us, will it not please God, who is our truest friend, that we should surrender our souls to Him without fear or reserve, in that holy and sweet communion with Himself which He allows us? It is this simplicity which is the perfection of the true children of God. This the end that we must have in view, and to which we must be continually advancing.

This deliverance of the soul from all useless, and selfish, and unquiet cares, brings to it a peace and freedom that are unspeakable; this is true simplicity. It is easy to perceive, at the first glance, how glorious it is; but experience alone can make us comprehend the enlargement of heart that it produces.

We are then like a child in the arms of its parent; we wish nothing more; we fear nothing; we yield ourselves up to this pure attachment; we are not anxious about what others think of us; all our motions are free, graceful and happy. We do not judge ourselves, and we do not fear to be judged. Let us strive after this lovely simplicity; let us seek the path that leads to it. The further we are from it, the more we must hasten our steps toward it. Very far from being simple, most Christians are not even sincere. They are not only disingenuous, but they are false, and they dissemble with their neighbor, with God, and with themselves. They practice a thousand little arts that indirectly distort the truth. Alas! every man is a liar; those even who are naturally upright, sincere, and ingenuous, and who are what is called simple and natural, still have this jealous and sensitive reference to self in everything, which secretly nourishes pride, and prevents that true simplicity, which is the renunciation and perfect oblivion of self.

THE sermon by John Wesley is fairly typical of his preaching. In general his sermons are simple direct appeals addressed to audiences of humble people but spoken from the heart without rhetorical embellishment.

JOHN WESLEY

GOD'S LOVE TO FALLEN MAN

How innumerable are the benefits which God conveys to the children of men through the channel of sufferings, so that it might well be said, "What are termed afflictions in the language of men are in the language of God styled blessings." Indeed, had there been no suffering in the world, a considerable part of religion, yea, and in some respects, the most excellent part, could have had no place therein: since the very existence of it depends on our suffering: so that had there been no pain it could have had no being. Upon this foundation, even our suffering, it is evident all our passive graces are built; yea, the noblest of all Christian graces, love enduring all things. Here is the ground for resignation to God,

enabling us to say from the heart, in every trying hour, "It is the Lord: let Him do what seemeth Him good." "Shall we receive good at the hand of the Lord, and shall we not receive evil?" And what a glorious spectacle is this! Did it not constrain even a heathen to cry out, *"Ecce spectaculum Deo dignum!"* See a sight worthy of God: a good man struggling with adversity, and superior to it. Here is the ground for confidence in God, both with regard to what we feel and with regard to what we should fear, were it not that our soul is calmly stayed on him. What room could there be for trust in God if there was no such thing as pain or danger? Who might not say then, "The cup which my Father had given me, shall I not drink it?" It is by sufferings that our faith is tried, and, therefore, made more acceptable to God. It is in the day of trouble that we have occasion to say, "Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him." And this is well pleasing to God, that we should own him in the face of danger; in defiance of sorrow, sickness, pain, or death.

Again: Had there been neither natural nor moral evil in the world, what must have become of patience, meekness, gentleness, long-suffering? It is manifest they could have had no being: seeing all these have evil for their object. If, therefore, evil had never entered into the world, neither could these have had any place in it. For who could have returned good for evil, had there been no evil-doer in the universe? How had it been possible, on that supposition, to overcome evil with good?

Will you say, "But all these graces might have been divinely infused into the hearts of men." Undoubtedly they might: but if they had, there would have been no use or exercise for them. Whereas in the present state of things we can never long want occasion to exercise them. And the more they are exercised, the more all our graces are strengthened and increased. And in the same proportion as our resignation, our confidence in God, our patience and fortitude, our meekness, gentleness, and long-suffering, together with our faith and love of God and man increase, must our happiness increase, even in the present world.

Yet again: As God's permission of Adam's fall gave all his posterity a thousand opportunities of suffering, and thereby

of exercising all those passive graces which increase both their holiness and happiness: so it gives them opportunities of doing good in numberless instances, of exercising themselves in various good works, which otherwise could have had no being. And what exertions of benevolence, of compassion, of godlike mercy, had been totally prevented! Who could then have said to the lover of men,—

"Thy mind throughout my life be shown,
While listening to the wretches' cry,
The widow's or the orphan's groan;
On mercy's wings I swiftly fly,
The poor and needy to relieve;
Myself, my all for them to give"?

It is the just observation of a benevolent man,—

"All worldly joys are less,
Than that one joy of doing kindnesses."

Surely in keeping this commandment, if no other, there is great reward. "As we have time, let us do good unto all men;" good of every kind and in every degree. Accordingly the more good we do (other circumstances being equal), the happier we shall be. The more we deal our bread to the hungry, and cover the naked with garments; the more we relieve the stranger, and visit them that are sick or in prison: the more kind offices we do to those that groan under the various evils of human life,—the more comfort we receive even in the present world; the greater the recompense we have in our own bosom.

To sum up what has been said under this head: As the more holy we are upon earth, the more happy we must be (seeing there is an inseparable connection between holiness and happiness); as the more good we do to others, the more of present reward redounds into our own bosom: even as our sufferings for God lead us to rejoice in him "with joy unspeakable and full of glory:" therefore the fall of Adam first, by giving us an opportunity of being far more holy; secondly, by giving us the occasions of doing innumerable good works which otherwise could not have been done; and, thirdly, by putting it into our power to suffer for God,

whereby "the Spirit of glory and of God rests upon us"; may be of such advantage to the children of men even in the present life, as they will not thoroughly comprehend till they attain life everlasting.

It is then we shall be enabled fully to comprehend, not only the advantages which accrue at the present time to the sons of men by the fall of their first parent, but the infinitely greater advantages which they may reap from it in eternity. In order to form some conception of this we may remember the observation of the Apostle, "As one star differeth from another star in glory, so also is the resurrection of the dead." The most glorious stars will undoubtedly be those who are the most holy; who bear most of that image of God wherein they were created. The next in glory to these will be those who have been most abundant in good works: and next to them, those that have suffered most, according to the will of God.

But what advantages in every one of these respects will the children of God receive in heaven by God's permitting the introduction of pain upon earth in consequence of sin? By occasion of this they attained many holy tempers which otherwise could have had no being: resignation to God, confidence in him in times of trouble and danger, patience, meekness, gentleness, long-suffering, and the whole train of passive virtues. And on account of this superior holiness they will then enjoy superior happiness.

Again: every one will then "receive his own reward, according to his own labor." Every individual will be "rewarded according to his work." But the fall gave rise to innumerable good works which could otherwise never have existed, such as ministering to the necessities of the saints, yea, relieving the distressed in every kind. And hereby innumerable stars will be added to their eternal crown. Yet again: there will be an abundant reward in heaven, for suffering, as well as for doing, the will of God: "these light afflictions, which are but for a moment, work out for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory." Therefore that event which occasioned the entrance of suffering into the world has thereby occasioned to all the children of God an increase of glory to all eternity. For although the sufferings themselves will be at an end: although—

"The pain of life shall then be o'er,
The anguish and distracting care;
The sighing grief shall weep no more;
And sin shall never enter there:"

—yet the joys occasioned thereby shall never end, but flow at God's right hand forevermore.

There is one advantage more that we reap from Adam's fall, which is not unworthy our attention. Unless in Adam all had died, being in the loins of their first parent, every descendant of Adam, every child of man, must have personally answered for himself to God: it seems to be a necessary consequence of this, that if he had once fallen, once violated any command of God, there would have been no possibility of his rising again; there was no help, but he must have perished without remedy. For that covenant knew not to show mercy: the word was, "The soul that sinneth, it shall die." Now who would not rather be on the footing he is now; under a covenant of mercy? Who would wish to hazard a whole eternity upon one stake? Is it not infinitely more desirable to be in a state wherein, though encompassed with infirmities, yet we do not run such a desperate risk, but if we fall we may rise again? Wherein we may say,—

"My trespass is grown up to heaven!
But, far above the skies,
In Christ abundantly forgiven,
I see thy mercies rise!"

In Christ! Let me entreat every serious person once more to fix his attention here. All that has been said, all that can be said, on these subjects, centers in this point. The fall of Adam produced the death of Christ! Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth! Yea,—

"Let earth and heaven agree,
Angels and men be joined,
To celebrate with me
The Savior of mankind;
To adore the all-atoning Lamb,
And bless the sound of Jesu's Name!"

If God had prevented the fall of man, the Word had never been made flesh; nor had we ever "seen his glory, the glory

as of the only begotten of the Father." Those mysteries had never been displayed "which the very angels desire to look into." Methinks this consideration swallows up all the rest, and should never be out of our thoughts. Unless "by one man judgment had come upon all men to condemnation," neither angels nor men could ever have known "the unsearchable riches of Christ."

See then, upon the whole, how little reason we have to repine at the fall of our first parent, since herefrom we may derive such unspeakable advantages both in time and eternity. See how small pretense there is for questioning the mercy of God in permitting that event to take place, since, therein, mercy, by infinite degrees, rejoices over judgment! Where, then, is the man that presumes to blame God for not preventing Adam's sin? Should we not rather bless him from the ground of the heart, for therein laying the grand scheme of man's redemption and making way for that glorious manifestation of his wisdom, holiness, justice, and mercy? If, indeed, God had decreed, before the foundation of the world, that millions of men should dwell in everlasting burnings because Adam sinned hundreds or thousands of years before they had a being; I know not who could thank him for this, unless the devil and his angels: seeing on this supposition, all those millions of unhappy spirits would be plunged into hell by Adam's sin without any possible advantage from it. But, blessed be God, this is not the case. Such a decree never existed. On the contrary, every one born of a woman may be an unspeakable gainer thereby: and none ever was or can be a loser but by his own choice.

We see here a full answer to that plausible account "of the origin of evil," published to the world some years since, and supposed to be unanswerable: that it "necessarily resulted from the nature of matter, which God was not able to alter." It is very kind in this sweet-tongued orator to make an excuse for God! But there is really no occasion for it: God hath answered for himself. He made man in his own image, a spirit endued with understanding and liberty. Man, abusing that liberty, produced evil; brought sin and pain into the world. This God permitted, in order to a fuller manifestation of his wisdom, justice, and mercy, by bestowing on all

who would receive it an infinitely greater happiness than they could possibly have attained if Adam had not fallen.

"O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God!" Although a thousand particulars of "his judgments, of his ways are unsearchable" to us, and past our finding out, yet we may discern the general scheme, running through time into eternity. "According to the council of his own will," the plan he had laid before the foundation of the world, he created the parent of all mankind in his own image. And he permitted all men to be made sinners by the disobedience of this one man, that, by the obedience of one, all who receive the free gift may be infinitely holier and happier to all eternity!

The next selection is taken from the sermon of Jonathan Edwards preached in Enfield, Conn., July 8, 1741. It is his most famous sermon and created an enormous effect upon his audience. It was delivered at the time of a great religious revival, but the people of Enfield had not yet been moved. We are told that "when they went into the meeting house the appearance of the assembly was thoughtless and vain. The people hardly conducted themselves with common decency. The Rev. Mr. Edwards of Northampton preached, and before the sermon was ended the assembly appeared deeply impressed and bowed down with an awful conviction of their sin and danger. There was such a breathing of distress and weeping that the preacher was obliged to speak to the people and desire silence that he might be heard." It was a time when preachers often discoursed on the horrors of hell, and this sermon is doubtless the most tremendous of its kind.

JONATHAN EDWARDS

SINNERS IN THE HANDS OF AN ANGRY GOD

The wrath of God is like great waters that are dammed for the present; they increase more and more, and rise higher and higher, till an outlet is given; and the longer the stream is stopped, the more rapid and mighty is its course, when once it is let loose. 'Tis true, that judgment against your evil work

has not been executed hitherto; the floods of God's vengeance have been withheld; but your guilt in the mean time is constantly increasing, and you are every day treasuring up more wrath; the waters are continually rising, and waxing more and more mighty; and there is nothing but the mere pleasure of God that holds the waters back, that are unwilling to be stopped, and press hard to go forward. If God should only withdraw his hand from the floodgate, it would immediately fly open, and the fiery floods of the fierceness and wrath of God would rush forth with inconceivable fury, and would come upon you with omnipotent power; and if your strength were ten thousand times greater than it is, yea, ten thousand times greater than the strength of the stoutest, sturdiest devil in hell, it would be nothing to withstand or endure it.

The bow of God's wrath is bent, and the arrow made ready on the string, and justice bends the arrow at your heart, and strains the bow, and it is nothing but the mere pleasure of God, and that of an angry God, without any promise or obligation at all, that keeps the arrow one moment from being made drunk with your blood.

Thus are all you that never passed under a great change of heart by the mighty power of the Spirit of God upon your souls; all that were never born again, and made new creatures, and raised from being dead in sin to a state of new and before altogether unexperienced light and life (however you may have reformed your life in many things, and may have had religious affections, and may keep up a form of religion in your families and closets, and in the house of God, and may be strict in it), you are thus in the hands of an angry God; 'tis nothing but his mere pleasure that keeps you from being this moment swallowed up in everlasting destruction.

However unconvinced you may now be of the truth of what you hear, by and by you will be fully convinced of it. Those that are gone from being in the like circumstances with you see that it was so with them; for destruction came suddenly upon most of them; when they expected nothing of it, and while they were saying, Peace and safety: now they see, that those things that they depended on for peace and safety were nothing but thin air and empty shadows.

The God that holds you over the pit of hell, much as one

holds a spider or some loathsome insect over the fire, abhors you, and is dreadfully provoked; his wrath towards you burns like fire; he looks upon you as worthy of nothing else, but to be cast into the fire; he is of purer eyes than to bear to have you in his sight; you are ten thousand times so abominable in his eyes, as the most hateful and venomous serpent is in ours. You have offended him infinitely more than ever a stubborn rebel did his prince: and yet it is nothing but his hand that holds you from falling into the fire every moment. 'Tis ascribed to nothing else, that you did not go to hell the last night; that you were suffered to awake again in this world after you closed your eyes to sleep; and there is no other reason to be given why you have not dropped into hell since you arose in the morning, but that God's hand has held you up. There is no other reason to be given why you haven't gone to hell since you have sat here in the house of God, provoking his pure eyes by your sinful wicked manner of attending his solemn worship. Yea, there is nothing else that is to be given as a reason why you don't this very moment drop down into hell.

O sinner! consider the fearful danger you are in. 'Tis a great furnace of wrath, a wide and bottomless pit, full of the fire of wrath, that you are held over in the hand of that God whose wrath is provoked and incensed as much against you as against many of the damned in hell. You hang by a slender thread, with the flames of divine wrath flashing about it, and ready every moment to singe it and burn it asunder; and you have no interest in any Mediator, and nothing to lay hold of to save yourself, nothing to keep off the flames of wrath, nothing of your own, nothing that you ever have done, nothing that you can do, to induce God to spare you one moment. . . .

It is *everlasting* wrath. It would be dreadful to suffer this fierceness and wrath of Almighty God one moment; but you must suffer it to all eternity: there will be no end to this exquisite, horrible misery. When you look forward, you shall see a long forever, a boundless duration before you, which will swallow up your thoughts, and amaze your soul; and you will absolutely despair of ever having any deliverance, any end, any mitigation, any rest at all; you will know certainly that you must wear out long ages, millions of millions of ages, in

wrestling and conflicting with this almighty, merciless vengeance; and then when you have so done, when so many ages have actually been spent by you in this manner, you will know that all is but a point to what remains. So that your punishment will indeed be infinite. Oh, who can express what the state of a soul in such circumstances is! All that we can possibly say about it gives but a very feeble, faint representation of it; it is inexpressible and inconceivable: for "who knows the power of God's anger?"

How dreadful is the state of those that are daily and hourly in danger of this great wrath and infinite misery! But this is the dismal case of every soul in this congregation that has not been born again, however moral and strict, sober and religious, they may otherwise be. Oh, that you would consider it, whether you be young or old! There is reason to think that there are many in this congregation now hearing this discourse, that will actually be the subjects of this very misery to all eternity. We know not who they are, or in what seats they sit, or what thoughts they now have. It may be they are now at ease, and hear all these things without much disturbance, and are now flattering themselves that they are not the persons, promising themselves that they shall escape. If we knew that there was one person, and but one, in the whole congregation, that was to be the subject of this misery, what an awful thing it would be to think of! If we knew who it was, what an awful sight would it be to see such a person! How might all the rest of the congregation lift up a lamentable and bitter cry over him! But alas! instead of one, how many is it likely will remember this discourse in hell! And it would be a wonder, if some that are now present should not be in hell in a very short time, before this year is out. And it would be no wonder if some persons that now sit here in some seats of this meeting-house in health, and quiet and secure, should be there before to-morrow morning. Those of you that finally continue in a natural condition, that shall keep out of hell longest, will be there in a little time! Your damnation don't slumber; it will come swiftly and, in all probability, very suddenly upon many of you. You have reason to wonder that you are not already in hell. 'Tis doubtless the case of some that heretofore you have seen and known, that

never deserved hell more than you and that heretofore appeared as likely to have been now alive as you. Their case is past all hope; they are crying in extreme misery and perfect despair. But here you are in the land of the living and in the house of God, and have an opportunity to obtain salvation. What would not those poor, damned, hopeless souls give for one day's such opportunity as you now enjoy!

And now you have an extraordinary opportunity, a day wherein Christ has flung the door of mercy wide open, and stands in the door calling and crying with a loud voice to poor sinners; a day wherein many are flocking to him and pressing into the Kingdom of God. Many are daily coming from the east, west, north and south; many that were very likely in the same miserable condition that you are in, are in now a happy state, with their hearts filled with love to him that has loved them and washed them from their sins in his own blood, and rejoicing in hope of the glory of God. How awful is it to be left behind at such a day! To see so many others feasting, while you are pining and perishing! To see so many rejoicing and singing for joy of heart, while you have cause to mourn for sorrow of heart and howl for vexation of spirit! How can you rest for one moment in such a condition? Are not your souls as precious as the souls of the people at Suffield,[1] where they are flocking from day to day to Christ?

Are there not many here that have lived long in the world that are not to this day born again, and so are aliens from the commonwealth of Israel and have done nothing ever since they have lived but treasure up wrath against the day of wrath? Oh, sirs, your case in an especial manner is extremely dangerous; your guilt and hardness of heart are extremely great. Don't you see how generally persons of your years are passed over and left in the present remarkable and wonderful dispensation of God's mercy? You had need to consider yourselves and wake thoroughly out of sleep; you cannot bear the fierceness and the wrath of the infinite God.

And you that are young men and young women, will you neglect this precious season that you now enjoy, when so many others of your age are renouncing all youthful vanities and

[1] The next neighbor town.

flocking to Christ? You especially have now an extraordinary opportunity; but if you neglect it, it will soon be with you as it is with those persons that spent away all the precious days of youth in sin and are now come to such a dreadful pass in blindness and hardness.

And you children that are unconverted, don't you know that you are going down to hell to bear the dreadful wrath of that God that is now angry with you every day and every night? Will you be content to be the children of the devil, when so many other children in the land are converted and are become the holy and happy children of the King of kings?

And let every one that is yet out of Christ and hanging over the pit of hell, whether they be old men and women or middle-aged or young people or little children, now hearken to the loud calls of God's word and providence. This acceptable year of the Lord that is a day of such great favor to some will doubtless be a day of as remarkable vengeance to others. Men's hearts harden and their guilt increases apace at such a day as this, if they neglect their souls. And never was there so great danger of such persons being given up to hardness of heart and blindness of mind. God seems now to be hastily gathering in his elect in all parts of the land; and probably the bigger part of adult persons that ever shall be saved will be brought in now in a little time, and that it will be as it was on that great outpouring of the Spirit upon the Jews in the Apostles' days, the election will obtain and the rest will be blinded. If this should be the case with you, you will eternally curse this day, and will curse the day that ever you were born to see such a season of the pouring out of God's Spirit, and will wish that you had died and gone to hell before you had seen it. Now undoubtedly it is as it was in the days of John the Baptist, the axe is in an extraordinary manner laid at the root of the trees, that every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit may be hewn down and cast into the fire.

Therefore let every one that is out of Christ now awake and fly from the wrath to come. The wrath of Almighty God is now undoubtedly hanging over a great part of this congregation. Let every one fly out of Sodom. *"Haste and escape for your lives, look not behind you, escape to the mountain, lest ye be consumed."*

WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM

AFFAIRS IN AMERICA

[William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham, was one of the chief builders of the British Empire, and one of the famous orators in the golden age of English oratory. Born in London in 1708, he entered Parliament when scarcely more than a boy and won reputation by his attacks on the long established ministry of Walpole. In 1757 he became head of the government in spite of the king's opposition. His administration was among the most glorious in English history. The French power crumbled in Europe and across the seas, and Canada and India became parts of the British Empire. Pitt, broken in health, retired from politics in 1768, but he returned from time to time chiefly to oppose the government's policies of repression and taxation in America. His last appearance in Parliament was on April 7, 1778, to protest against the acknowledgment of American independence because it would dismember the Empire.

The speech which follows was made a few months earlier, on November 18, 1777, just after the news of Burgoyne's defeat had reached England. The speech of a man in his seventieth year, worn by disease and close to death, it is astounding in its vigor and must be viewed as one of the great triumphs of the human will. The annals of oratory supply nothing more fiery or more annihilating than the final impromptu rejoinder to Lord Suffolk on the employment of Indians in the War. The whole speech certainly affords a magnificent conclusion to Chatham's great career,—a splendid fighting speech by the veteran prince of debaters, a last attempt to conciliate America by the friend of the colonies and the builder of the Empire.]

I RISE, my lords, to declare my sentiments on this most solemn and serious subject. It has imposed a load upon my mind, which, I fear, nothing can remove, but which impels me to endeavor its alleviation, by a free and unreserved communication of my sentiments.

In the first part of the address, I have the honor of heartily concurring with the noble earl who moved it. No man feels sincerer joy than I do; none can offer more genuine congratulations on every accession of strength to the Protestant suc-

cession. I therefore join in every congratulation on the birth of another princess, and the happy recovery of her majesty.

But I must stop here. My courtly complaisance will carry me no farther. I will not join in congratulation on misfortune and disgrace. I cannot concur in a blind and servile address, which approves and endeavors to sanctify the monstrous measures which have heaped disgrace and misfortune upon us. This, my lords, is a perilous and tremendous moment! It is not a time for adulation. The smoothness of flattery cannot now avail—cannot save us in this rugged and awful crisis. It is now necessary to instruct the Throne in the language of truth. We must dispel the illusion and the darkness which envelop it, and display, in its full danger and true colors, the ruin that is brought to our doors.

This, my lords, is our duty. It is the proper function of this noble assembly, sitting, as we do, upon our honors in this House, the hereditary council of the Crown. *Who* is the minister—*where* is the minister, that has dared to suggest to the Throne the contrary, unconstitutional language this day delivered from it? The accustomed language from the Throne has been application to Parliament for advice, and a reliance on its constitutional advice and assistance. As it is the right of Parliament to give, so it is the duty of the Crown to ask it. But on this day, and in this extreme momentous exigency, no reliance is reposed on our constitutional counsels! no advice is asked from the sober and enlightened care of Parliament! but the Crown, from itself and by itself, declares an unalterable determination to pursue measures—and what measures, my lords. The measures that have produced the imminent perils that threaten us; the measures that have brought ruin to our doors.

Can the minister of the day now presume to expect a continuance of support in this ruinous infatuation? Can Parliament be so dead to its dignity and its duty as to be thus deluded into the loss of the one and the violation of the other? To give an unlimited credit and support for the steady perseverance in measures not proposed for our parliamentary advice, but dictated and forced upon us—in measures, I say, my lords, which have reduced this late flourishing empire to ruin and

contempt! "But yesterday, and England might have stood against the world: now none so poor to do her reverence." [1] I use the words of a poet; but, though it be poetry, it is no fiction. It is a shameful truth, that not only the power and strength of this country are wasting away and expiring, but her well-earned glories, her true honor, and substantial dignity are sacrificed.

France, my lords, has insulted you; she has encouraged and sustained America; and, whether America be wrong or right, the dignity of this country ought to spurn at the officious insult of French interference. The ministers and ambassadors of those who are called rebels and enemies are in Paris [2]; in Paris they transact the reciprocal interests of America and France. Can there be a more mortifying insult? Can even our ministers sustain a more humiliating disgrace? Do they dare to resent it? Do they presume even to hint a vindication of their honor, and the dignity of the State, by requiring the dismission of the plenipotentiaries of America? Such is the degradation to which they have reduced the glories of England! The people whom they affect to call contemptible rebels, but whose growing power has at last obtained the name of enemies; the people with whom they have engaged this country in war, and against whom they now command our implicit support in every measure of desperate hostility—this people, despised as rebels, or acknowledged as enemies, are abetted against you, supplied with every military store, their interests consulted, and their ambassadors entertained, by your inveterate enemy! —and our ministers dare not interpose with dignity or effect. Is this the honor of a great kingdom? Is this the indignant spirit of England, who "but yesterday" gave law to the House of Bourbon?

My lords, the dignity of nations demands a decisive conduct in a situation like this. Even when the greatest prince that perhaps this country ever saw filled our Throne, the requisition of a Spanish general, on a similar subject, was attended to and complied with; for, on the spirited remonstrance of the Duke of Alva, Elizabeth found herself obliged to deny

[1] News had just reached England of the defeat of Burgoyne at Saratoga.

[2] Franklin, Dean, and Lee are here referred to.

the Flemish exiles all countenance, support, or even entrance into her dominions, and the Count Le Marque, with his few desperate followers, was expelled from the kingdom. Happening to arrive at the Brille, and finding it weak in defense, they made themselves masters of the place; and this was the foundation of the United Provinces.

My lords, this ruinous and ignominious situation, where we cannot act with success, nor suffer with honor, calls upon us to remonstrate in the strongest and loudest language of truth, to rescue the ear of majesty from the delusions which surround it. The desperate state of our arms abroad is in part known. No man thinks more highly of them than I do. I love and honor the English troops. I know their virtues and their valor. I know they can achieve anything except impossibilities; and I know that the conquest of English America is *an impossibility*. You cannot, I venture to say it, *you cannot* conquer America. Your armies in the last war effected every thing that could be effected; and what was it? It cost a numerous army, under the command of a most able general [Lord Amherst], now a noble lord in this House, a long and laborious campaign, to expel five thousand Frenchmen from French America. My lords, *you cannot conquer America.* What is your present situation there? We do not know the worst; but we know that in three campaigns we have done nothing and suffered much. Besides the sufferings, perhaps *total loss* of the Northern force, the best appointed army that ever took the field, commanded by Sir William Howe, has retired from the American lines.[1] *He was obliged* to relinquish his attempt, and with great delay and danger to adopt a new and distant plan of operations. We shall soon know, and in any event have reason to lament, what may have happened since.

As to conquest, therefore, my lords, I repeat, it is impossible. You may swell every expense and every effort still more extravagantly; pile and accumulate every assistance you can buy or borrow; traffic and barter with every little pitiful German prince that sells and sends his subjects to the shambles of a foreign prince; your efforts are forever vain and

[1]General Howe, who had been expected to proceed up the Hudson from New York City and join Burgoyne near Albany, went instead to Philadelphia.

impotent—doubly so from this mercenary aid on which you rely; for it irritates, to an incurable resentment, the minds of your enemies, to overrun them with the mercenary sons of rapine and plunder, devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty! If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms—never—never—never.

Your own army is infected with the contagion of these illiberal allies. The spirit of plunder and of rapine is gone forth among them. I know it; and, notwithstanding what the noble earl [Lord Percy] who moved the address has given as his opinion of the American army, I know from authentic information, and the *most experienced officers,* that our discipline is deeply wounded. While this is notoriously our sinking situation, America grows and flourishes; while our strength and discipline are lowered, hers are rising and improving.

But, my lords, who is the man [1] that, in addition to these disgraces and mischiefs of our army has dared to authorize and associate to our arms the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the savage; to call into civilized alliance the wild and inhuman savage of the woods; to delegate to the merciless Indian the defense of disputed rights, and to wage the horrors of his barbarous war against our brethren? [2] My lords, these enormities cry aloud for redress and punishment. Unless thoroughly done away, it will be a stain on the national character. It is a violation of the Constitution. I believe it is against law.

It is not the least of our national misfortunes that the strength and character of our army are thus impaired. Infected with the mercenary spirit of robbery and rapine; familiarized to the horrid scenes of savage cruelty, it can no longer boast of the noble and generous principles which dignify a soldier; no longer sympathize with the dignity of the royal banner, nor feel the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war, "that make ambition virtue!" What makes ambition virtue? The sense of honor. But is the sense of honor consistent with a spirit of plunder, or the practice of murder? Can

[1] Lord George Germaine, of the ministry, is here referred to.

[2] Indians were employed by Burgoyne.

it flow from mercenary motives, or can it prompt to cruel deeds? Besides these murderers and plunderers, let me ask our ministers, What other allies have they acquired? What *other powers* have they associated in their cause? Have they entered into alliance with the *king of the gypsies?* Nothing, my lords, is too low or too ludicrous to be consistent with their counsels.

The independent views of America have been stated and asserted as the foundation of this address. My lords, no man wishes for the due dependence of America on this country more than I do. To preserve it and not confirm that state of independence into which *your measures* hitherto have *driven them,* is the object which we ought to unite in attaining. The Americans, contending for their rights against arbitrary exactions, I love and admire. It is the struggle of free and virtuous patriots. But, contending for independency and total disconnection from England, as an Englishman, I cannot wish them success; for in a due constitutional dependency, including the ancient supremacy of this country in regulating their commerce and navigation, consists the mutual happiness and prosperity both of England and America. She derived assistance and protection from us; and we reaped from her the most important advantages. She was, indeed, the fountain of our wealth, the nerve of our strength, the nursery and basis of our naval power. It is our duty, therefore, my lords, if we wish to save our country, most seriously to endeavor the recovery of these most beneficial subjects; and in this perilous crisis, perhaps the present moment may be the only one in which we can hope for success.

For in their negotiations with France, they have, or think they have, reason to complain; though it be notorious that they have received from that power important supplies and assistance of various kinds, yet it is certain they expected it in a more decisive and immediate degree. America is in ill-humor with France; on some points they have not entirely answered her expectations.

Let us wisely take advantage of every possible moment of reconciliation. Besides, the natural disposition of America herself still leans toward England, to the old habits of connection and mutual interest that united both countries. This *was* the

established sentiment of all the Continent; and still, my lords, in the great and principal part, the sound part of America, this wise and affectionate disposition prevails. And there is a very considerable part of America yet sound—the middle and the southern provinces. Some parts may be factious and blind to their true interests; but if we express a wise and benevolent disposition to communicate with them, those immutable rights of nature and those constitutional liberties to which they are equally entitled with ourselves, by a conduct so just and humane we shall confirm the favorable and conciliate the adverse.

I say, my lords, the rights and liberties to which they are equally entitled with ourselves, *but no more*. I would participate to them every enjoyment and freedom which the colonizing subjects of a free state can possess, or wish to possess; and I do not see why they should not enjoy every fundamental right in their property, and every original substantial liberty, which Devonshire, or Surrey, or the county I live in, or any other county in England can claim, reserving always, as the sacred right of the mother country, the due constitutional dependency of the colonies. The inherent supremacy of the state in regulating and protecting the navigation and commerce of all her subjects, is necessary for the mutual benefit and preservation of every part, to constitute and preserve the prosperous arrangement of the whole empire.

The sound parts of America, of which I have spoken, must be sensible of these great truths and of their real interests. America is not in that state of desperate and contemptible rebellion which this country has been deluded to believe. It is not a wild and lawless banditti, who, having nothing to lose, might hope to snatch something from public convulsions. Many of their leaders and great men have a great stake in this great contest. The gentleman who conducts their armies, I am told, has an estate of four or five thousand pounds a year; and when I consider these things, I cannot but lament the inconsiderate violence of our penal acts, our declaration of treason and rebellion, with all the fatal effects of attainder and confiscation.

As to the disposition of foreign powers which is asserted to be pacific and friendly, let us judge, my lords, rather by their actions and the nature of things than by interested assertions.

The uniform assistance supplied to America by France suggests a different conclusion. The most important interests of France in aggrandizing and enriching herself with what she most wants, supplies of every naval store from America, must inspire her with different sentiments. The extraordinary preparations of the House of Bourbon, by land and by sea, from Dunkirk to the Straits, equally ready and willing to overwhelm these defenseless islands, should rouse us to a sense of their real disposition and our own danger. Not five thousand troops in England! hardly three thousand in Ireland! What can we oppose to the combined force of our enemies? Scarcely twenty ships of the line so fully or sufficiently manned, that any admiral's reputation would permit him to take the command of. The river of Lisbon in the possession of our enemies! The seas swept by American privateers! Our Channel trade torn to pieces by them! In this complicated crisis of danger, weakness at home, and calamity abroad, terrified and insulted by the neighboring powers, unable to act in America, or acting only to be destroyed, where is the man with the forehead to promise or hope for success in such a situation, or from perseverance in the measures that have driven us to it? Who has the forehead to do so? Where is that man? I should be glad to see his face.

You cannot *conciliate* America by your present measures. You cannot *subdue* her by your present or by any measures. What, then, can you do? You cannot conquer; you cannot gain; but you can *address;* you can lull the fears and anxieties of the moment into an ignorance of the danger that should produce them. But, my lords, the time demands the language of truth. We must not now apply the flattering unction of servile compliance or blind complaisance. In a just and necessary war, to maintain the rights or honor of my country, I would strip the shirt from my back to support it. But in such a war as this, unjust in its principle, impracticable in its means, and ruinous in its consequences, I would not contribute a single effort nor a single shilling. I do not call for vengeance on the heads of those who have been guilty; I only recommend to them to make their retreat. Let them walk off; and let them make haste, or they may be assured that speedy and condign punishment will overtake them.

My lords, I have submitted to you, with the freedom and truth which I think my duty, my sentiments on your present awful situation. I have laid before you the ruin of your power, the disgrace of your reputation, the pollution of your discipline, the contamination of your morals, the complication of calamities, foreign and domestic, that overwhelm your sinking country. Your dearest interests, your own liberties, the Constitution itself, totters to the foundation. All this disgraceful danger, this multitude of misery, is the monstrous offspring of this unnatural war. We have been deceived and deluded too long. Let us now stop short. This is the crisis—the only crisis of time and situation, to give us a possibility of escape from the fatal effects of our delusions. But if, in an obstinate and infatuated perseverance in folly, we slavishly echo the peremptory words this day presented to us, nothing can save this devoted country from complete and final ruin. We madly rush into multiplied miseries, and "confusion worse confounded."

Is it possible, can it be believed, that ministers are yet blind to this impending destruction? I did hope, that instead of this false and empty vanity, this overweening pride, engendering high conceits and presumptuous imaginations, ministers would have humbled themselves in their errors, would have confessed and retracted them, and by an active, though a late, repentance, have endeavored to redeem them. But, my lords, since they had neither sagacity to foresee, nor justice nor humanity to shun these oppressive calamities—since not even severe experience can make them feel, nor the imminent ruin of their country awaken them from their stupefaction, the guardian care of Parliament must interpose.

I shall, therefore, my lords, propose to you an amendment of the address to his Majesty, to be inserted immediately after the two first paragraphs of congratulation on the birth of a princess, to recommend an immediate cessation of hostilities, and the commencement of a treaty to restore peace and liberty to America, strength and happiness to England, security and permanent prosperity to both countries. This, my lords, is yet in our power; and let not the wisdom and justice of your lordships neglect the happy, and, perhaps, the only opportunity. By the establishment of irrevocable law, founded on mutual

rights, and ascertained by treaty, these glorious enjoyments may be firmly perpetuated. And let me repeat to your lordships, that the strong bias of America, at least of the wise and sounder parts of it, naturally inclines to this happy and constitutional reconnection with you. Notwithstanding the temporary intrigues with France, we may still be assured of their ancient and confirmed partiality to us. America and France cannot be congenial. There is something decisive and confirmed in the honest American, that will not assimilate to the futility and levity of Frenchmen.

My lords, to encourage and confirm that innate inclination to this country, founded on every principle of affection, as well as consideration of interest; to restore that favorable disposition into a permanent and powerful reunion with this country; to revive the mutual strength of the empire; again to awe the House of Bourbon, instead of meanly truckling, as our present calamities compel us, to every insult of French caprice and Spanish punctilio; to reëstablish our commerce; to reassert our rights and our honor; to confirm our interests and renew our glories forever—a consummation most devoutly to be endeavored! and which, I trust, may yet arise from reconciliation with America—I have the honor of submitting to you the following amendment, which I move to be inserted after the two first paragraphs of the address:

And that this House does most humbly advise and supplicate his majesty to be pleased to cause the most speedy and effectual measures to be taken for restoring peace in America; and that no time may be lost in proposing an immediate opening of a treaty for the final settlement of the tranquillity of these invaluable provinces, by a removal of the unhappy causes of this ruinous civil war, and by a just and adequate security against the return of the like calamities in times to come. And this House desire to offer the most dutiful assurances to his majesty, that they will, in due time, cheerfully coöperate with the magnanimity and tender goodness of his majesty for the preservation of his people, by such explicit and most solemn declarations, and provisions of fundamental and irrevocable laws, as may be judged necessary for the ascertaining and fixing for ever the respective rights of Great Britain and her colonies.

[At this point Lord Suffolk undertook to defend the employment of Indians in the war, contending that the measure was allowable on *principle,* for "it was perfectly justifiable to use

all the means that *God and nature put into our hands!"* Chatham then rose and said:]

I am astonished, shocked! to hear such principles confessed —to hear them avowed in this House, or in this country; principles equally unconstitutional, inhuman, and unchristian!

My lords, I did not intend to have encroached again upon your attention, but I cannot repress my indignation. I feel myself impelled by every duty. My lords, we are called upon as members of this House, as men, as Christian men, to protest against such notions standing near the Throne, polluting the ear of majesty. "That God and nature put into our hands!" I know not what ideas that lord may entertain of God and nature, but I know that such abominable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity. What! to attribute the sacred sanction of God and nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping-knife—to the cannibal savage, torturing, murdering, roasting, and eating—literally, my lords, *eating* the mangled victims of his barbarous battles! Such horrible notions shock every precept of religion, divine or natural, and every generous feeling of humanity. And, my lords, they shock every sentiment of honor; they shock me as a lover of honorable war, and a detester of murderous barbarity.

These abominable principles, and this more abominable avowal of them, demand the most decisive indignation. I call upon that right reverend bench, those holy ministers of the Gospel, and pious pastors of our Church—I conjure them to join in the holy work, and vindicate the religion of their God. I appeal to the wisdom and the law of this learned bench, to defend and support the justice of their country. I call upon the Bishops to interpose the unsullied sanctity of their lawn; upon the learned judges, to interpose the purity of their ermine, to save us from this pollution. I call upon the honor of your lordships, to reverence the dignity of your ancestors, and to maintain your own. I call upon the spirit and humanity of my country to vindicate the national character. I invoke the genius of the Constitution. From the tapestry that adorns these walls, the immortal ancestor[1] of this noble lord frowns with indignation at the disgrace of his country.

[1] Lord Howard of Effingham, lord high admiral of England, commanded the fleet against the Spanish Armada in 1588.

In vain he led your victorious fleets against the boasted Armada of Spain; in vain he defended and established the honor, the liberties, the religion—the *Protestant religion*—of this country, against the arbitrary cruelties of popery and the Inquisition, if these more than popish cruelties and inquisitorial practices are let loose among us—to turn forth into our settlements, among our ancient connections, friends, and relations, the merciless cannibal, thirsting for the blood of man, woman and child; to send forth the infidel savage—against whom? against your Protestant brethren; to lay waste their country, to desolate their dwellings; and extirpate their race and name with these horrible hell-hounds of savage war—*hell-hounds, I say, of savage war!* Spain armed herself with blood-hounds to extirpate the wretched natives of America, and we improve on the inhuman example of Spanish cruelty; we turn loose these savage hell-hounds against our brethren and countrymen in America, of the same language, laws, liberties, and religion, endeared to us by every tie that should sanctify humanity.

My lords, this awful subject, so important to our honor, our Constitution, and our religion, demands the most solemn and effectual inquiry. And I again call upon your lordships, and the united powers of the State, to examine it thoroughly and decisively, and to stamp upon it an indelible stigma of the public abhorrence. And I again implore those holy prelates of our religion to do away these iniquities from among us. Let them perform a lustration; let them purify this House, and this country, from this sin.

My lords, I am old and weak, and at present unable to say more; but my feelings and indignation were too strong to have said less. I could not have slept this night in my bed, nor reposed my head on my pillow, without giving this vent to my eternal abhorrence of such preposterous and enormous principles.

EDMUND BURKE

CONCILIATION WITH AMERICA

[Edmund Burke, a British statesman of eminent oratorical powers, was born in Dublin in 1729. After graduating from Trinity College, he first attracted attention by his writings, but soon became a member of Parliament, where he astonished his hearers with a style of eloquence never heard there before. During the thirty years of his public life he made speeches in the House of Commons which have never been surpassed in impressiveness. His tall stature, his dignity, his loud voice with its trace of Irish accent added to the novelty of his style, which, however, sometimes proved a little heavy for a restless House. But his great speeches are among the masterpieces of oratory and of literature. In the sweep of their argument and the richness of their diction they are unequaled even by the greatest orations of antiquity.

Burke was a man of wide learning and cultivation, a profound thinker. Devoted to the cause of political liberty, his great speeches were made for the abolition of the slave trade, against the exploitation of India by English fortune seekers, for conciliation with America, and for the advance of freedom under the British Constitution. But the French Revolution by its violence and anarchy shocked his ideas of order and justice, and the writings and speeches of his later years were impassioned protests against the course of the French republic. He died in 1797.

The speech on Conciliation occupied over three hours in delivery and would fill sixty pages of this volume. It was made early in 1775 but failed to persuade the House of Commons against repressive measures. Before a report of the speech had crossed the ocean, the embattled farmers at Concord had "fired the shot heard round the world." The speech is exhaustive in its treatment and admirable in its logical plan and arrangement. The introduction is conciliatory, asking for a hearing for his proposals though he knows the government and the majority favor harsh measures toward the colonies. Then he comes to the essence of the matter.]

The proposition is peace. Not peace through the medium of war; not peace to be hunted through the labyrinth of intricate and endless negotiations; not peace to arise out of universal discord, fomented from principle, in all parts of the empire; not

peace to depend on the juridical determination of perplexing questions, or the precise marking of the shadowy boundaries of a complex government. It is simple peace, sought in its natural course and its ordinary haunts. It is peace sought in the spirit of peace, and laid in principles purely pacific. I propose, by removing the ground of the difference, and by restoring *the former unsuspecting confidence of the colonies in the mother country,* to give permanent satisfaction to your people; and, far from a scheme of ruling by discord, to reconcile them to each other in the same act, and by the bond of the very same interest, which reconciles them to British government.

My idea is nothing more. Refined policy ever has been the parent of confusion, and ever will be so long as the world endures. Plain good intention, which is as easily discovered at the first view as fraud is surely detected at last, is (let me say) of no mean force in the government of mankind. Genuine simplicity of heart is a healing and cementing principle. My plan, therefore, being formed upon the most simple grounds imaginable, may disappoint some people when they hear it. It has nothing to recommend it to the pruriency of curious ears. There is nothing at all new and captivating in it. It has nothing of the splendor of the project which has been lately laid upon your table by the noble lord in the blue ribbon. It does not propose to fill your lobby with squabbling colony agents, who will require the interposition of your mace at every instant to keep the peace among them. It does not institute a magnificent auction of finance, where captivated provinces come to general ransom by bidding against each other, until you knock down the hammer, and determine a proportion of payments beyond all the powers of algebra to equalize and settle.

The plan which I shall presume to suggest derives, however, one great advantage from the proposition and registry of that noble lord's project. The idea of conciliation is admissible. First, the house, in accepting the resolution moved by the noble lord, has admitted, notwithstanding the menacing front of our address, notwithstanding our heavy bill of pains and penalties, that we do not think ourselves precluded from all ideas of free grace and bounty.

The house has gone further: it has declared conciliation admissible, *previous* to any submission on the part of America. It has even shot a good deal beyond that mark, and has admitted that the complaints of our former mode of exerting the right of taxation were not wholly unfounded. That right, thus exerted, is allowed to have had something reprehensible in it, something unwise, or something grievous; since, in the midst of our heat and resentment, we, of ourselves, have proposed a capital alteration, and, in order to get rid of what seemed so very exceptional, have instituted a mode that is altogether new; one that is, indeed wholly alien from all the ancient methods and forms of parliament.

The *principle* of this proceeding is large enough for my purpose. The means proposed by the noble lord for carrying his ideas into execution, I think, indeed, are very indifferently suited to the end; and this I shall endeavor to show you before I sit down. But, for the present, I take my ground on the admitted principle. I mean to give peace. Peace implies reconciliation; and, where there has been a material dispute, reconciliation does in a manner always imply concession on the one part or on the other. In this state of things I make no difficulty in affirming that the proposal ought to originate from us. Great and acknowledged force is not impaired, either in effect or in opinion, by an unwillingness to exert itself. The superior power may offer peace with honor and with safety. Such an offer from such a power will be attributed to magnanimity. But the concessions of the weak are the concessions of fear. When such a one is disarmed, he is wholly at the mercy of his superior, and he loses forever that time and those chances which, as they happen to all men, are the strength and resources of all inferior power.

The capital leading questions on which you must this day decide, are these two: *First, whether you ought to concede; and, secondly, what your concession ought to be.*

On the first of these questions we have gained, as I have just taken the liberty of observing to you, some ground. But I am sensible that a good deal more is still to be done. Indeed, sir, to enable us to determine both on the one and the other of these great questions with a firm and precise judgment, I think it may be necessary to consider distinctly: The true *nature*

and the peculiar *circumstances* of the object which we have before us; because, after all our struggle, whether we will or not, we must govern America according to that nature and to those circumstances, and not according to our imaginations; not according to abstract ideas of right; by no means according to mere general theories of government, the resort to which appears to me, in our present situation, no better than arrant trifling. I shall therefore endeavor, with your leave, to lay before you some of the most material of these circumstances in as full and as clear a manner as I am able to state them.

[Burke then dwelt (1) on the large and growing population of the colonies, and (2) on the profitable commerce with the home country and (3) on the development of agriculture which is destined to feed the old world. To such great colonies he is willing to pardon something to the spirit of liberty.]

I am sensible, sir, that all which I have asserted in my detail is admitted in the gross; but that quite a different conclusion is drawn from it. America, gentlemen say, is a noble object. It is an object well worth fighting for. Certainly it is, if fighting a people be the best way of gaining them. Gentlemen in this respect will be led to their choice of means by their complexions and their habits. Those who understand the military art will, of course, have some predilection for it. Those who wield the thunder of the state may have more confidence in the efficacy of arms. But I confess, possibly for want of this knowledge, my opinion is much more in favor of prudent management than of force; considering force not as an odious, but a feeble instrument for preserving a people so numerous, so active, so growing, so spirited as this, in a profitable and subordinate connection with us.

First, sir, permit me to observe, that the use of force alone is but temporary. It may subdue for a moment, but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again; and a nation is not governed which is perpetually to be conquered.

My next objection is its uncertainty. Terror is not always the effect of force; and an armament is not a victory. If you do not succeed, you are without resource; for, conciliation failing, force remains; but, force failing, no further hope of recon-

ciliation is left. Power and authority are sometimes bought by kindness, but they can never be begged as alms by an impoverished and defeated violence.

A further objection to force is that you impair the object by your very endeavors to preserve it. The thing you fought for is not the thing which you recover; but depreciated, sunk, wasted, and consumed in the contest. Nothing less will content me than *whole* America. I do not choose to consume its strength along with our own, because in all parts it is the British strength that I consume. I do not choose to be caught by a foreign enemy at the end of this exhausting conflict, and still less in the midst of it. I may escape; but I can make no insurance against such an event. Let me add, that I do not choose wholly to break the American spirit, because it is the spirit that has made the country.

Lastly, we have no sort of experience in favor of force as an instrument in the rule of our colonies. Their growth and their utility have been owing to methods altogether different. Our ancient indulgence has been said to be pursued to a fault. It may be so; but we know, if feeling is evidence, that our fault was more tolerable than our attempt to mend it; and our sin far more salutary than our penitence.

These, sir, are my reasons for not entertaining that high opinion of untried force, by which many gentlemen, for whose sentiments in other particulars I have great respect, seem to be so greatly captivated.

But there is still behind a third consideration concerning this object, which serves to determine my opinion on the sort of policy which ought to be pursued in the management of America, even more than its population and its commerce—I mean its temper and character. In this character of the Americans a love of freedom is the predominating feature which marks and distinguishes the whole; and, as an ardent is always a jealous affection, your colonies become suspicious, restive, and untractable, whenever they see the least attempt to wrest from them by force, or shuffle from them by chance, what they think the only advantage worth living for. This fierce spirit of liberty is stronger in the English colonies, probably, than in any other people of the earth, and this from a variety

of powerful causes, which, to understand the true temper of their minds, and the direction which this spirit takes, it will not be amiss to lay open somewhat more largely.

First, the people of the colonies are descendants of Englishmen. England, sir, is a nation which still, I hope, respects, and formerly adored, her freedom. The colonists emigrated from you when this part of your character was most predominant; and they took this bias and direction the moment they parted from your hands. They are, therefore, not only devoted to liberty, but to liberty according to English ideas and on English principles. Abstract liberty, like other mere abstractions, is not to be found. Liberty inheres in some sensible object; and every nation has formed to itself some favorite point which, by way of eminence, becomes the criterion of their happiness. It happened, you know, sir, that the great contests for freedom in this country were, from the earliest times, chiefly upon the question of taxing. Most of the contests in the ancient commonwealths turned primarily on the right of election of magistrates, or on the balance among the several orders of the state. The question of money was not with them so immediate. But in England it was otherwise. On this point of taxes the ablest pens and most eloquent tongues have been exercised; the greatest spirits have acted and suffered. In order to give the fullest satisfaction concerning the importance of this point, it was not only necessary for those who in argument defended the excellence of the English Constitution, to insist on this privilege of granting money as a dry point of fact, and to prove that the right had been acknowledged in ancient parchments and blind usages to reside in a certain body called the House of Commons. They went much further: they attempted to prove (and they succeeded) that in theory it ought to be so, from the particular nature of a House of Commons, as an immediate representative of the people, whether the old records had delivered this oracle or not. They took infinite pains to inculcate, as a fundamental principle, that in all monarchies the people must, in effect, themselves, mediately or immediately, possess the power of granting their own money, or no shadow of liberty could subsist. The colonies draw from you, as with their life-blood, those ideas and principles, their love of liberty, as with you, fixed and attached on this

specific point of taxing. Liberty might be safe or might be endangered in twenty other particulars, without their being much pleased or alarmed. Here they felt its pulse; and, as they found that beat, they thought themselves sick or sound. I do not say whether they were right or wrong in applying your general arguments to their own case. It is not easy, indeed, to make a monopoly of theorems and corollaries. The fact is, that they did thus apply those general arguments; and your mode of governing them, whether through lenity or indolence, through wisdom, or mistake, confirmed them in the imagination that they, as well as you, had an interest in these common principles.

They were further confirmed in these pleasing errors by the form of their provincial legislative assemblies. Their governments are popular in a high degree; some are merely popular; in all, the popular representative is the most weighty; and this share of the people in their ordinary government never fails to inspire them with lofty sentiments, and with a strong aversion from whatever tends to deprive them of their chief importance.

If anything were wanting to this necessary operation of the form of government, religion would have given it a complete effect. Religion, always a principle of energy, in this new people is no way worn out or impaired; and their mode of professing it is also one main cause of this free spirit. The people are Protestants; and of that kind which is the most averse to all implicit submission of mind and opinion. This is a persuasion not only favorable to liberty, but built upon it. I do not think, sir, that the reason of this averseness in the dissenting churches from all that looks like absolute government, is so much to be sought in their religious tenets as in their history. Every one knows that the Roman Catholic Religion is at least coeval with most of the governments where it prevails; that it has generally gone hand in hand with them, and received great favor and every kind of support from authority. The Church of England, too, was formed from her cradle under the nursing care of regular government. But the dissenting interests have sprung up in direct opposition to all the ordinary powers of the world, and could justify that opposition only on a strong claim to natural liberty. Their very existence depended on the pow-

erful and unremitted assertion of that claim. All protestantism, even the most cold and passive, is a kind of dissent. But the religion most prevalent in our northern colonies is a refinement on the principle of resistance; it is the dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the Protestant Religion. This religion, under a variety of denominations, agreeing in nothing but in the communion of the spirit of liberty, is predominant in most of the northern provinces; where the Church of England, notwithstanding its legal rights, is in reality no more than a sort of private sect, not composing, most probably, the tenth of the people. The colonists left England when this spirit was high, and in the emigrants was the highest of all; and even that stream of foreigners, which has been constantly flowing into these colonies, has, for the greatest part, been composed of dissenters from the establishments of their several countries, who have brought with them a temper and character far from alien to that of the people with whom they mixed.

Sir, I can perceive by their manner that some gentlemen object to the latitude of this description, because in the southern colonies the Church of England forms a large body, and has a regular establishment. It is certainly true. There is, however, a circumstance attending these colonies which, in my opinion, fully counterbalances this difference, and makes the spirit of liberty still more high and haughty than in those to the northward. It is that in Virginia and the Carolinas they have a vast multitude of *slaves*. Where this is the case in any part of the world, those who are free are by far the most proud and jealous of their freedom. Freedom is to them not only an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege. Not seeing there that freedom, as in countries where it is a common blessing, and as broad and general as the air, may be united with much abject toil, with great misery, with all the exterior of servitude, liberty looks, among them, like something that is more noble and liberal. I do not mean, sir, to commend the superior morality of this sentiment, which has at least as much pride as virtue in it; but I cannot alter the nature of man. The fact is so; and these people of the southern colonies are much more strongly, and with a higher and more stubborn spirit, attached to liberty than those to the northward. Such were all the ancient commonwealths; such were our Gothic ancestors; such,

in our days, were the Poles, and such will be all masters of slaves, who are not slaves themselves. In such a people the haughtiness of domination combines with the spirit of freedom, fortifies it, and renders it invincible.

Permit me, sir, to add another circumstance in our colonies, which contributes no mean part toward the growth and effect of this untractable spirit—I mean their education. In no other country, perhaps, in the world is the law so general a study. The profession itself is numerous and powerful, and in most provinces it takes the lead. The greater number of the deputies sent to Congress were lawyers. But all who read, and most do read, endeavor to obtain some smattering in that science. I have been told by an eminent bookseller that in no branch of his business, after tracts of popular devotion, were so many books as those on the law exported to the plantations. The colonists have now fallen into the way of printing them for their own use. I hear that they have sold nearly as many of "Blackstone's Commentaries" in America as in England. General Gage marks out this disposition very particularly in a letter on your table. He states that all the people in his government are lawyers, or smatterers in law; and that in Boston they have been enabled, by successful chicane, wholly to evade many parts of one of your capital penal constitutions. The smartness of debate will say that this knowledge ought to teach them more clearly the rights of legislature, their obligations to obedience, and the penalties of rebellion. All this is mighty well. But my honorable and learned friend [the Attorney-General, afterward Lord Thurlow] on the floor, who condescends to mark what I say for animadversion, will disdain that ground. He has heard, as well as I, that when great honors and great emoluments do not win over this knowledge to the service of the state, it is a formidable adversary to government. If the spirit be not tamed and broken by these happy methods, it is stubborn and litigious. *Abeunt studia in mores.* This study renders men acute, inquisitive, dexterous, prompt in attack, ready in defense, full of resources. In other countries, the people, more simple and of a less mercurial cast, judge of an ill principle in government only by an actual grievance. Here they anticipate the evil, and judge of the pressure of the grievance by the badness of the principle. They

augur misgovernment at a distance, and snuff the approach of tyranny in every tainted breeze.

The last cause of this disobedient spirit in the colonies is hardly less powerful than the rest, as it is not merely moral, but laid deep in the natural constitution of things. Three thousand miles of ocean lie between you and them. No contrivance can prevent the effect of this distance in weakening government. Seas roll and months pass between the order and the execution; and the want of a speedy explanation of a single point is enough to defeat the whole system. You have, indeed, "winged ministers" of vengeance, who carry your bolts in their pouches to the remotest verge of the sea. But there a power steps in that limits the arrogance of raging passion and furious elements, and says: "So far shalt thou go, and no farther." Who are you, that should fret and rage and bite the chains of nature? Nothing worse happens to you than does to all nations who have extensive empire; and it happens in all the forms into which empire can be thrown. In large bodies the circulation of power must be less vigorous at the extremities. Nature has said it. The Turk cannot govern Egypt, and Arabia, and Koordistan as he governs Thrace; nor has he the same dominion in Crimea and Algiers which he has at Brusa and Smyrna. Despotism itself is obliged to truck and huckster. The sultan gets such obedience as he can. He governs with a loose rein, that he may govern at all; and the whole of the force and vigor of his authority in his center is derived from a prudent relaxation in all his borders. Spain, in her provinces, is, perhaps, not so well obeyed as you are in yours. She complies too; she submits; she watches times. This is the immutable condition, the eternal law, of extensive and detached empire.

Then, sir, from these six capital sources of descent, of form of government, of religion in the northern provinces, of manners in the southern, of education, of the remoteness of situation from the first mover of government—from all these causes a fierce spirit of liberty has grown up. It has grown with the growth of the people in your colonies, and increased with the increase of their wealth; a spirit that, unhappily meeting with an exercise of power in England, which, however lawful, is not

reconcilable to any ideas of liberty, much less with theirs, has kindled this flame, that is ready to consume us.

I do not mean to commend either the spirit in this excess, or the moral causes which produce it. Perhaps a more smooth and accommodating spirit of freedom in them would be more acceptable to us. Perhaps ideas of liberty might be desired, more reconcilable with an arbitrary and boundless authority. Perhaps we might wish the colonists to be persuaded that their liberty is more secure when held in trust for them by us, as guardians during a perpetual minority, than with any part of it in their own hands. But the question is not whether their spirit deserves praise or blame. What, in the name of God, shall we do with it? You have before you the object, such as it is, with all its glories, with all its imperfections on its head. You see the magnitude, the importance, the temper, the habits, the disorders. By all these considerations we are strongly urged to determine something concerning it. We are called upon to fix some rule and line for our future conduct which may give a little stability to our politics, and prevent the return of such unhappy deliberations as the present.. Every such return will bring the matter before us in a still more untractable form. For, what astonishing and incredible things have we not seen already? What monsters have not been generated from this unnatural contention? While every principle of authority and resistance has been pushed upon both sides, as far as it would go, there is nothing so solid and certain, either in reasoning or in practice, that it has not been shaken. Until very lately, all authority in America seemed to be nothing but an emanation from yours. Even the popular part of the colony constitution derived all its activity, and its first vital movement, from the pleasure of the crown. We thought, sir, that the utmost which the discontented colonists could do was to disturb authority. We never dreamed they could of themselves supply it, knowing in general what an operose business it is to establish a government absolutely new. But having, for our purposes in this contention, resolved that none but an obedient assembly should sit, the humors of the people there, finding all passage through the legal channel stopped, with great violence broke out another way. Some provinces have tried their experiment

as we have tried ours; and theirs has succeeded. They have formed a government sufficient for its purposes, without the bustle of a revolution, or the troublesome formality of an election. Evident necessity and tacit consent have done the business in an instant. So well they have done it, that Lord Dunmore (the account is among the fragments on your table) tells you, that the new institution is infinitely better obeyed than the ancient government ever was in its most fortunate periods. Obedience is what makes government, and not the names by which it is called; nor the name of governor, as formerly, or committee, as at present. This new government has originated directly from the people, and was not transmitted through any of the ordinary artificial media of a positive constitution. It was not a manufacture ready formed, and transmitted to them in that condition from England. The evil arising from hence is this: that the colonists having once found the possibility of enjoying the advantages of order in the midst of a struggle for liberty, such struggles will not henceforward seem so terrible to the settled and sober part of mankind as they had appeared before the trial.

Pursuing the same plan of punishing by the denial of the exercise of government to still greater lengths, we wholly abrogated the ancient government of Massachusetts. We were confident that the first feeling, if not the very prospect of anarchy, would instantly enforce a complete submission. The experiment was tried. A new, strange, unexpected face of things appeared. Anarchy is found tolerable. A vast province has now subsisted, and subsisted in a considerable degree of health and vigor, for near a twelvemonth, without governor, without public council, without judges, without executive magistrates. How long it will continue in this state, or what may arise out of this unheard-of situation, how can the wisest of us conjecture? Our late experience has taught us, that many of those fundamental principles formerly believed infallible, are either not of the importance they were imagined to be, or that we have not at all adverted to some other far more important and far more powerful principles, which entirely overrule those we had considered as omnipotent.

I am much against any further experiments which tend to put to the proof any more of these allowed opinions which con-

tribute so much to the public tranquillity. In effect, we suffer as much at home by this loosening of all ties, and this concussion of all established opinions, as we do abroad. For, in order to prove that the Americans have no right to their liberties, we are every day endeavoring to subvert the maxims which preserve the whole spirit of our own. To prove that the Americans ought not to be free, we are obliged to depreciate the value of freedom itself; and we never seem to gain a paltry advantage over them in debate, without attacking some of those principles, or deriding some of those feelings, for which our ancestors have shed their blood.

[Burke next proceeds to examine various schemes for the taxation of the colonies or repressing their liberties. He exposes the difficulties of such schemes and returns to his proposal of conciliation.]

Instead of a standing revenue, you will therefore have a perpetual quarrel. Indeed, the noble lord who proposed this project of a ransom by auction, seemed himself to be of that opinion. His project was rather designed for breaking the union of the colonies than for establishing a revenue. He confessed that he apprehended that his proposal would not be to their taste. I say this scheme of disunion seems to be at the bottom of the project; for I will not suspect that the noble lord meant nothing but merely to delude the nation by an airy phantom which he never intended to realize. But, whatever his views may be, as I propose the peace and union of the colonies as the very foundation of my plan, it cannot accord with one whose foundation is perpetual discord.

Compare the two. This I offer to give you is plain and simple. The other, full of perplexed and intricate mazes. This is mild; that, harsh. This is found by experience effectual for its purposes; the other is a new project. This is universal; the other, calculated for certain colonies only. This is immediate in its conciliatory operation; the other, remote, contingent, full of hazard. Mine is what becomes the dignity of a ruling people; gratuitous, unconditional, and not held out as a matter of bargain and sale. I have done my duty in proposing it to you. I have indeed tried you by a long discourse; but this is the misfortune of those to whose influence nothing will be conceded, and who must win every inch of their ground

by argument. You have heard me with goodness. May you decide with wisdom! For my part, I feel my mind greatly disburdened by what I have done to-day. I have been the less fearful of trying your patience, because on this subject I mean to spare it altogether in future. I have this comfort, that in every stage of the American affairs, I have steadily opposed the measures that have produced the confusion, and may bring on the destruction of this empire. I now go so far as to risk a proposal of my own. If I cannot give peace to my country, I give it to my conscience.

But what, says the financier, is peace to us without money? Your plan gives us no revenue. No! But it does—for it secures to the subject the power of REFUSAL—the first of all revenues. Experience is a cheat, and fact a liar, if this power in the subject of proportioning his grant, or of not granting at all, has not been found the richest mine of revenue ever discovered by the skill or by the fortune of man. It does not indeed vote you £152,750 11*s.* 2¾*d.*, nor any other paltry limited sum, but it gives the strong box itself, the fund, the bank, from whence only revenues can arise among a people sensible of freedom: Posita lauditur arca.

Cannot you in England; cannot you at this time of day; cannot you—a House of Commons—trust to the principle which has raised so mighty a revenue, and accumulated a debt of near one hundred and forty millions in this country? Is this principle to be true in England and false everywhere else? Is it not true in Ireland? Has it not hitherto been true in the colonies? Why should you presume that in any country, a body duly constituted for any functions will neglect to perform its duty, and abdicate its trust. Such a presumption would go against all government in all modes. But, in truth, this dread of penury of supply, from a free assembly, has no foundation in nature. For first observe, that, besides the desire, which all men have naturally, of supporting the honor of their own government, that sense of dignity, and that security of property, which ever attends freedom, has a tendency to increase the stock of the free community. Most may be taken where most is accumulated. And what is the soil or climate where experience has not uniformly proved that the voluntary flow of heaped-up plenty, bursting from the weight of its own

rich luxuriance, has ever run with a more copious stream of revenue, than could be squeezed from the dry husks of oppressed indigence, by the straining of all the politic machinery in the world?

Next, we know that parties must ever exist in a free country. We know, too, the emulations of such parties, their contradictions, their reciprocal necessities, their hopes and their fears, must send them all in their turns to him that holds the balance of the state. The parties are the gamesters, but government keeps the table, and is sure to be the winner in the end. When this game is played, I really think it is more to be feared that the people will be exhausted than that government will not be supplied; whereas, whatever is got by acts of absolute power, ill obeyed, because odious or by contracts ill kept because constrained, will be narrow, feeble, uncertain, and precarious.

"Ease would retract.
Vows made in pain, as violent and void."

I, for one, protest against compounding our demands. I declare against compounding, for a poor, limited sum, the immense, ever-growing, eternal debt which is due to generous government from protected freedom. And so may I speed in the great object I propose to you, as I think it would not only be an act of injustice, but would be the worst economy in the world, to compel the colonies to a sum certain, either in the way of ransom or in the way of compulsory compact.

But to clear up my ideas on this subject: A revenue from America transmitted hither—do not delude yourselves—you never can receive it—no, not a shilling. We have experienced that from remote countries it is not to be expected. If, when you attempted to extract revenue from Bengal, you were obliged to return in loan what you had taken in imposition, what can you expect from North America? for certainly, if ever there was a country qualified to produce wealth, it is India; or an institution fit for the transmission, it is the East India Company. America has none of these aptitudes. If America gives you taxable objects on which you lay your duties here, and gives you, at the same time, a surplus by a foreign sale of her commodities to pay the duties on these objects which

you tax at home, she has performed her part to the British revenue. But with regard to her own internal establishments, she may, I doubt not she will, contribute in moderation; I say in moderation, for she ought not to be permitted to exhaust herself. She ought to be reserved to a war, the weight of which, with the enemies that we are most likely to have, must be considerable in her quarter of the globe. There she may serve you, and serve you essentially.

For that service, for all service, whether of revenue, trade, or empire, my trust is in her interest in the British Constitution. My hold of the colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government; they will cling and grapple to you, and no force under heaven will be of power to tear them from their allegiance. But let it be once understood that your government may be one thing, and their privileges another; that these two things may exist without any mutual relation; the cement is gone; the cohesion is loosened; and everything hastens to decay and dissolution. As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country as the sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith, wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom, they will turn their faces toward you. The more they multiply, the more friends you will have. The more ardently they love liberty, the more perfect will be their obedience. Slavery they can have anywhere. It is a weed that grows in every soil. They may have it from Spain; they may have it from Prussia; but, until you become lost to all feeling of your true interest and your natural dignity, freedom they can have from none but you. This is the commodity of price, of which you have the monopoly. This is the true Act of Navigation, which binds to you the commerce of the colonies, and through them secures to you the wealth of the world. Deny them this participation of freedom, and you break that sole bond which originally made, and must still preserve, the unity of the empire. Do not entertain so weak an imagination as that your registers and your bonds, your affi-

davits and your sufferances, your cockets and your clearances, are what form the great securities of your commerce. Do not dream that your letters of office, and your instructions, and your suspending clauses, are the things that hold together the great contexture of this mysterious whole. These things do not make your government. Dead instruments, passive tools as they are, it is the spirit of the English communion that gives all their life and efficacy to them. It is the spirit of the English Constitution which, infused through the mighty mass, pervades, feeds, unites, invigorates, vivifies every part of the empire, even down to the minutest member.

Is it not the same virtue which does everything for us here in England?

Do you imagine, then, that it is the land tax which raises your revenue, that it is the annual vote in the committee of supply which gives you your army? or that it is the mutiny bill which inspires it with bravery and discipline? No! surely no! It is the love of the people; it is their attachment to their government, from the sense of the deep stake they have in such a glorious institution, which gives you your army and your navy, and infuses into both that liberal obedience, without which your army would be a base rabble, and your navy nothing but rotten timber.

All this, I know well enough, will sound wild and chimerical to the profane herd of those vulgar and mechanical politicians, who have no place among us; a sort of people who think that nothing exists but what is gross and material, and who, therefore, far from being qualified to be directors of the great movement of empire, are not fit to turn a wheel in the machine. But to men truly initiated and rightly taught, these ruling and master principles, which, in the opinion of such men as I have mentioned, have no substantial existence, are in truth everything and all in all. Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom; and a great empire and little minds go ill together. If we are conscious of our situation, and glow with zeal to fill our place as becomes our station and ourselves, we ought to auspicate all our public proceeding on America with the old warning of the church, sursum corda! We ought to elevate our minds to the greatness of that trust to which the order

of Providence has called us. By adverting to the dignity of this high calling, our ancestors have turned a savage wilderness into a glorious empire, and have made the most extensive and only honorable conquests, not by destroying, but by promoting, the wealth, the number, the happiness of the human race. Let us get an American revenue as we have got an American empire. English privileges have made it all that it is; English privileges alone will make it all it can be.

In full confidence of this unalterable truth, I now, quod felix faustumque sit, lay the first stone in the temple of peace; and I move you,

That the colonies and plantations of Great Britain in North America, consisting of fourteen separate governments, and containing two millions and upwards of free inhabitants, have not had the liberty and privilege of electing and sending any knights and burgesses, or others, to represent them in the high court of parliament.

AT THE TRIAL OF WARREN HASTINGS

[This speech was delivered before the High Court of Impeachment, in Westminster Hall, February, 1788. Burke spoke during four sittings, beginning on February 13. Macaulay in his essay on Warren Hastings, has described this memorable scene:

"There have been spectacles more dazzling to the eye, more gorgeous with jewelry and cloth of gold, more attractive to grownup children, than that which was then exhibited at Westminster, but, perhaps, there was never a spectacle so well calculated to strike a highly cultivated, a reflecting, an imaginative mind. All the various kinds of interest which belong to the near and to the distant, to the present and to the past, were collected on one spot, and in one hour. All the talents and all the accomplishments which are developed by liberty and civilization were now displayed; with every advantage that could be derived both from coöperation and from contrast.

"Every step in the proceedings carried the mind either backward, through many troubled centuries, to the days when the foundations of our Constitution were laid; or far away, over boundless seas and deserts, to dusky nations living under strange stars, worshiping strange gods, and writing strange characters from right to left. The High Court of Parliament was to sit, according to forms handed down from the days of the Plantagenets, on an Englishman accused of exercising tyranny over the lord of the holy city of Benares, and over the ladies of the princely house of Oude.

"The place was worthy of such a trial. It was the great hall of William Rufus: the hall which had resounded with acclamations at the inauguration of thirty kings; the hall which had witnessed the

just sentence of Bacon and the just absolution of Somers; the hall where the eloquence of Strafford had for a moment awed and melted a victorious party inflamed with just resentment; the hall where Charles had confronted the High Court of Justice with the placid courage which has half redeemed his fame.

"Neither military nor civil pomp was wanting. The avenues were lined with grenadiers. The streets were kept clear by cavalry. The peers, robed in gold and ermine, were marshaled by the heralds under Garter king-at-arms. The judges in their vestments of state attended to give advice on points of law. Near a hundred and seventy lords, three-fourths as the Upper House then was, walked in solemn order from their usual place of assembling to the tribunal. The junior baron present led the way, George Eliott, Lord Heathfield, recently ennobled for his memorable defense of Gibraltar against the fleets and armies of France and Spain. The long procession was closed by the Duke of Norfolk, earl marshal of the realm, by the great dignitaries, and by the brothers and the sons of the king. Last of all came the Prince of Wales, conspicuous by his fine person and noble bearing.

"The grey old walls were hung with scarlet. The long galleries were crowded by an audience such as has rarely excited the fears or the emulation of an orator. There were gathered together, from all parts of a great, free, enlightened, and prosperous Empire, grace and female loveliness, wit and learning, the representatives of every science and of every art. There were seated around the queen the fair-haired young daughters of the house of Brunswick. There the ambassadors of great kings and commonwealths gazed with admiration on a spectacle which no other country in the world could present. There Siddons, in the prime of her majestic beauty, looked with emotion on a scene surpassing all the imitations of the stage. There the historian of the Roman Empire thought of the days when Cicero pleaded the cause of Sicily against Verres, and when, before a senate which still retained some show of freedom, Tacitus thundered against the oppressor of Africa.

"There were seen, side by side, the greatest painter and the greatest scholar of the age. The spectacle had allured Reynolds from that easel which has preserved to us the thoughtful foreheads of so many writers and statesmen, and the sweet smiles of so many noble matrons. It had induced Parr to suspend his labors in that dark and profound mine from which he had extracted a vast treasure of erudition—a treasure too often buried in the earth, too often paraded with injudicious and inelegant ostentation, but still precious, massive, and splendid. There appeared the voluptuous charms of her to whom the heir of the throne had in secret plighted his faith. There, too, was she, the beautiful mother of a beautiful race, the Saint Cecilia, whose delicate features, lighted up by love and music, art has rescued from the common decay. There were the members of that brilliant society which quoted, criticized, and exchanged repartees, under the rich peacock-hangings of Mrs. Montague. And there the ladies whose

lips, more persuasive than those of Fox himself, had carried the Westminster election against palace and treasury, shone round Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire."]

My LORDS, you have now heard the principles on which Mr. Hastings governs the part of Asia subjected to the British Empire. Here he has declared his opinion that he is a despotic prince; that he is to use arbitrary power; and, of course, all his acts are covered with that shield. "I know," says he, "the Constitution of Asia only from its practice." Will your lordships submit to hear the corrupt practices of mankind made the principles of government? *He* have arbitrary power!—my lords, the East India Company have not arbitrary power to give him; the king has no arbitrary power to give him; your lordships have not; nor the Commons; nor the whole Legislature.

We have no arbitrary power to give, because arbitrary power is a thing which neither any man can hold nor any man can give. No man can lawfully govern himself according to his own will—much less can one person be governed by the will of another. We are all born in subjection—all born equally, high and low, governers and governed, in subjection to one great, immutable, preëxistent law, prior to all our devices, and prior to all our contrivances, paramount to all our ideas and to all our sensations, antecedent to our very existence, by which we are knit and connected in the eternal frame of the universe, out of which we cannot stir.

This great law does not arise from our conventions or compacts; on the contrary, it gives to our conventions and compacts all the force and sanction they can have: it does not arise from our vain institutions. Every good gift is of God, all power is of God; and He who has given the power, and from whom alone it originates, will never suffer the exercise of it to be practiced upon any less solid foundation than the power itself.

If, then, all dominion of man over man is the effect of the divine disposition, it is bound by the eternal laws of Him that gave it, with which no human authority can dispense; neither he that exercises it, nor even those who are subject to it; and, if they were mad enough to make an express com-

pact, that should release their magistrate from his duty, and should declare their lives, liberties and properties, dependent upon, not rules and laws, but his mere capricious will, that covenant would be void.

This arbitrary power is not to be had by conquest. Nor can any sovereign have it by succession; for no man can succeed to fraud, rapine, and violence. Those who give and those who receive arbitrary power are alike criminal; and there is no man but is bound to resist it to the best of his power, wherever it shall show its face to the world.

Law and arbitrary power are in eternal enmity. Name me a magistrate, and I will name property; name me power, and I will name protection. It is a contradiction in terms, it is blasphemy in religion, it is wickedness in politics, to say that any man can have arbitrary power. In every patent of office the duty is included. For what else does a magistrate exist? To suppose for power, is an absurdity in idea. Judges are guided and governed by the eternal laws of justice, to which we are all subject. We may bite our chains, if we will; but we shall be made to know ourselves, and be taught that man is born to be governed by *law;* and he that will substitute *will* in the place of it is an enemy to God.

My lords, I do not mean now to go farther than just to remind your lordships of this—that Mr. Hastings' government was one whole system of oppression, of robbery of individuals, of spoliation of the public, and of supersession of the whole system of the English government, in order to vest in the worst of the natives all the power that could possibly exist in any government; in order to defeat the ends which all governments ought, in common, to have in view. In the name of the Commons of England, I charge all this villainy upon Warren Hastings, in this last moment of my application to you.

My lords, what is it that we want here, to a great act of national justice? Do we want a cause, my lords? You have the cause of oppressed princes, of undone women of the first rank, of desolated provinces and of wasted kingdoms.

Do you want a criminal, my lords? When was there so much iniquity ever laid to the charge of any one? No, my lords, you must not look to punish any other such delinquent

from India. Warren Hastings has not left substance enough in India to nourish such another delinquent.

My lords, is it a prosecutor you want? You have before you the Commons of Great Britain as prosecutors; and I believe, my lords, that the sun, in his beneficent progress round the world, does not behold a more glorious sight than that of men, separated from a remote people by the material bounds and barriers of nature, united by the bond of a social and moral community—all the Commons of England resenting, as their own, the indignities and cruelties that we offered to all the people of India.

Do we want a tribunal? My lords, no example of antiquity, nothing in the modern world, nothing in the range of human imagination, can supply us with a tribunal like this. We commit safely the interests of India and humanity into your hands. Therefore, it is with confidence that, ordered by the Commons,

I impeach Warren Hastings, Esquire, of high crimes and misdemeanors.

I impeach him in the name of the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, whose parliamentary trust he has betrayed.

I impeach him in the name of all the Commons of Great Britain, whose national character he has dishonored.

I impeach him in the name of the people of India, whose laws, rights and liberties he has subverted; whose properties he has destroyed; whose country he has laid waste and desolate.

I impeach him in the name and by virtue of those eternal laws of justice which he has violated.

I impeach him in the name of human nature itself, which he has cruelly outraged, injured and oppressed, in both sexes, in every age, rank, situation, and condition of life.

My lords, at this awful close, in the name of the Commons and surrounded by them, I attest the retiring, I attest the advancing generations, between which, as a link in the great chain of eternal order, we stand. We call this nation, we call the world to witness, that the Commons have shrunk from no labor; that we have been guilty of no prevarication; that we have made no compromise with crime; that we have not feared any odium whatsoever, in the long warfare which we have carried on with the crimes, with the vices, with the ex-

orbitant wealth, with the enormous and overpowering influence of Eastern corruption.

My lords, it has pleased Providence to place us in such a state that we appear every moment to be upon the verge of some great mutations. There is one thing, and one thing only, which defies all mutation: that which existed before the world, and will survive the fabric of the world itself—I mean justice; that justice which, emanating from the Divinity, has a place in the breast of every one of us, given us for our guide with regard to ourselves and with regard to others, and which will stand, after this globe is burned to ashes, our advocate or our accuser, before the great Judge, when He comes to call upon us for the tenor of a well-spent life.

My lords, the Commons will share in every fate with your lordships; there is nothing sinister which can happen to you, in which we shall not all be involved; and, if it should so happen that we shall be subjected to some of those frightful changes which we have seen—if it should happen that your lordships, stripped of all the decorous distinctions of human society, should, by hands at once base and cruel, be led to those scaffolds and machines of murder upon which great kings and glorious queens have shed their blood, amidst the prelates, amidst the nobles, amidst the magistrates, who supported their thrones—may you in those moments feel that consolation which I am persuaded they felt in the critical moments of their dreadful agony!

My lords, if you must fall, may you so fall! but, if you stand—and stand I trust you will—together with the fortune of this ancient monarchy, together with the ancient laws and liberties of this great and illustrious kingdom, may you stand as unimpeached in honor as in power; may you stand, not as a substitute for virtue, but as an ornament of virtue, as a security for virtue; may you stand long, and long stand the terror of tyrants; may you stand the refuge of afflicted nations; may you stand a sacred temple, for the perpetual residence of an inviolable justice!

THE AGE OF CHIVALRY

It is now sixteen or seventeen years since I saw the queen of France, then the dauphiness, at Versailles; and surely

never lighted on this orb, which she hardly seemed to touch, a more delightful vision. I saw her just above the horizon, decorating and cheering the elevated sphere she just began to move in,---glittering like the morning-star, full of life, and splendor, and joy. Oh! what a revolution! and what a heart must I have to contemplate without emotion that elevation and that fall! Little did I dream when she added titles of veneration to those of enthusiastic, distant, respectful love, that she should ever be obliged to carry the sharp antidote against disgrace concealed in that bosom; little did I dream that I should have lived to see such disasters fallen upon her in a nation of gallant men, in a nation of men of honor, and of cavaliers. I thought ten thousand swords must have leaped from their scabbards to avenge even a look that threatened her with insult. But the age of chivalry is gone. That of sophisters, economists, and calculators, has succeeded; and the glory of Europe is extinguished forever. Never, never more shall we behold that generous loyalty to rank and sex, that proud submission, that dignified obedience, that subordination of the heart, which kept alive, even in servitude itself, the spirit of an exalted freedom. The unbought grace of life, the cheap defense of nations, the nurse of manly sentiment and heroic enterprise, is gone! It is gone, that sensibility of principle, that chastity of honor, which felt a stain like a wound, which inspired courage whilst it mitigated ferocity, which ennobled whatever it touched, and under which vice itself lost half its evil, by losing all its grossness.

RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN

AGAINST WARREN HASTINGS

[Richard Brinsley Sheridan, a dramatist and public man, distinguished for his wit and eloquence, was born in Dublin in 1751. He received a good but unsystematic education and took to literature, writing "The Rivals," a brilliant comedy, before he was twenty-five. He produced other plays, including "The School for Scandal," and gained a large income from an interest he acquired in Drury Lane Theater. He entered Parliament in 1780, earning unprecedented applause by his speeches, especially by one in which he urged the impeachment of Warren Hastings. "When he sat down the whole house—the members, peers, and strangers—involuntarily joined in a tumult of applause, and adopted a mode of expressing their approbation, new and irregular in that house, by loudly and repeatedly clapping their hands." He remained a member of the House of Commons, with slight intermission, until 1812. He advocated freedom of the press, reform, and milder game laws. He opposed the legislative union of England and Ireland. His death occurred in 1816. The following speech was given in Westminster Hall in the impeachment trial of Hastings. Fifty pounds were given for a seat, so great was the desire to hear Sheridan. The speech was interrupted by his illness, and was given on three different days, only the concluding portion being printed here. With the concluding words, "My lords, I have done," Sheridan sank back into the arms of Burke.]

My lords, permit me to remind you that, when I had last the honor of addressing you, I concluded with submitting to the court the whole of the correspondence, as far as it could be obtained, between the principal and agents in the nefarious plot carried on against the nabob vizier and the Begums of Oude. These letters demand of the court the most grave and deliberate attention, as containing not only a narrative of that foul and unmanly conspiracy, but also a detail of the motives and ends for which it was formed, and an exposition of the trick and quibble, the prevarication and the untruth with which it was then acted, and is now attempted to be defended.

The private letters, my lords, are the only part of the correspondence thus providentially disclosed, which is de-

serving of attention. They were written in the confidence of private communication, without any motives to palliate and color facts, or to mislead. The counsel for the prisoner have, however, chosen to rely on the public correspondence, prepared, as appears on the very face of it, for the concealment of fraud and the purpose of deception. They, for example, dwelt on a letter from Mr. Middleton, dated December 1781, which intimates some supposed contumacy of the Begums; and this they thought countenanced the proceedings which afterward took place, and particularly the resumption of the jaghires; but, my lords, you cannot have forgotten, that both Sir Elijah Impey and Mr. Middleton declared, in their examination at your bar, that the letter was totally false. Another letter, which mentions "the determination of the nabob to resume the jaghires," was also dwelt upon with great emphasis; but it is in evidence that the nabob, on the contrary, could not, by any means, be induced to sanction the measure; that it was not, indeed, till Mr. Middleton had actually issued his own Perwannas [warrants] for the collection of the rents, that the prince, to avoid a state of the lowest degradation, consented to give it the appearance of his act.

In the same letter, the resistance of the Begums to the seizure of their treasures is noticed as an instance of female levity, as if their defense of the property assigned for their subsistence was a matter of censure, or that they merited a reproof for feminine lightness, because they urged an objection to being starved!

The opposition, in short, my lords, which was expected from the princesses, was looked to as a justification of the proceedings which afterward happened. There is not, in the private letters, the slightest intimation of the anterior rebellion, which by prudent after-thought was so greatly magnified. There is not a syllable of those dangerous machinations which were to dethrone the nabob, nor of those sanguinary artifices by which the English were to be extirpated. It is indeed said, that if such measures were rigorously pursued, as had been set on foot, the people might be driven from murmurs to resistance, and rise up in arms against their oppressors.

Where, then, my lords, is the proof of this mighty rebellion? It is contained alone, where it is natural to expect it,

in the fabricated correspondence between Middleton and Hastings, and in the affidavits collected by Sir Elijah Impey.

The gravity of the business on which the chief justice was employed on this occasion, contrasted with the vivacity, the rapidity, and celerity of his movements, is exceedingly curious. At one moment he appeared in Oude, at another in Chunar, at a third in Benares, procuring testimony, and in every quarter exclaiming, like Hamlet's Ghost, "SWEAR!" To him might also have been applied the words of Hamlet to the Ghost, "What, Truepenny! are you there?" But the similitude goes no farther. He was never heard to give the injunction,

> "Taint not thy mind, nor let thy soul contrive
> Against thy mother aught!"

It is, my lords, in some degree worthy of your observation, that not one of the private letters of Mr. Hastings has at any time been disclosed. Even Middleton, when all confidence was broken between them by the production of his private correspondence at Calcutta, either feeling for his own safety, or sunk under the fascinating influence of his master, did not dare attempt a retaliation! The letters of Middleton, however, are sufficient to prove the situation of the nabob, when pressed to the resumption of the jaghires. He is there described as being sometimes lost in sullen melancholy—at others, agitated beyond expression, exhibiting every mark of agonized sensibility. Even Middleton was moved by his distresses to interfere for a temporary respite, in which he might become more reconciled to the measure. "I am fully of opinion," said he, "that the despair of the nabob must impel him to violence. I know, also, that the violence must be fatal to himself; but yet I think that, with his present feelings, he will disregard all consequences."

Mr. Johnson, the assistant resident, also wrote to the same purpose. The words of his letter are memorable. "He thought it would require a campaign to execute the orders for the resumption of the jaghires!" A campaign against whom? Against the nabob, our friend and ally, who had voluntarily given the order! This measure, then, which we have heard contended was for his good and the good of his

country, could truly be only enforced by a campaign! Such is British justice! Such is British humanity! Mr. Hastings guarantees to the allies of the company their prosperity and his protection. The former he secures by sending an army to plunder them of their wealth and to desolate their soil. The latter produces the misery and the ruin of the protected. His is the protection which the vulture gives to the lamb, which covers while it devours its prey; which, stretching its baleful pinions and hovering in mid-air, disperses the kites and lesser birds of prey, and saves the innocent and helpless victim from all talons but its own.

It is curious, my lords, to remark that, in the correspondence of these creatures of Mr. Hastings, and in their earnest endeavors to dissuade him from the resumption of the jaghires, not a word is mentioned of the measure being contrary to honor—to faith; derogatory to national character; unmanly, or unprincipled. Knowing the man to whom they were writing, their only arguments were that it was contrary to policy and to expediency. Not one word do they mention of the just claims which the nabob had to the gratitude and friendship of the English. Not one syllable of the treaty by which we were bound to protect him. Not one syllable of the relation which subsisted between him and the princesses they were about to plunder. Not one syllable is hinted of justice or mercy. All which they addressed to him was the apprehension that the money to be procured would not be worth the danger and labor with which it must be attended. There is nothing, my lords, to be found in the history of human turpitude; nothing in the nervous delineations and penetrating brevity of Tacitus; nothing in the luminous and luxuriant pages of Gibbon, or of any other historian, dead or living, who, searching into measures and characters with the rigor of truth, presents to our abhorrence depravity in its blackest shapes, which can equal, in the grossness of the guilt, or in the hardness of heart with which it was conducted, or in low and groveling motives, the acts and character of the prisoner. It was he who, in the base desire of stripping two helpless women, could stir the son to rise up in vengeance against them; who, when that son had certain touches of nature in his breast, certain feelings of an awakened conscience, could accuse him of en-

tertaining peevish objections to the plunder and sacrifice of his mother; who, having finally divested him of all thought, all reflection, all memory, all conscience, all tenderness and duty as a son, all dignity as a monarch; having destroyed his character and depopulated his country, at length brought him to violate the dearest ties of nature, in countenancing the destruction of his parents. This crime, I say, has no parallel or prototype in the Old World or the New, from the day of original sin to the present hour. The victims of his oppression were confessedly destitute of all power to resist their oppressors. But their debility, which from other bosoms would have claimed some compassion, at least with respect to the mode of suffering, with him only excited the ingenuity of torture. Even when every feeling of the nabob was subdued; when, as we have seen, my lords, nature made a last, lingering, feeble stand within his breast; even then, that spirit of malignity, with which his doom was fixed, returned with double rigor and sharper acrimony to its purpose, and compelled the child to inflict on the parent that destruction of which he was himself reserved to be the final victim.

Great as is this climax, in which, my lords, I thought the pinnacle of guilt was attained, there is yet something still more transcendently flagitious. I particularly allude to his [Hastings'] infamous letter, falsely dated the fifteenth of February, 1782, in which, at the very moment that he had given the order for the entire destruction of the Begums, and for the resumption of the jaghires, he expresses to the nabob the warm and lively interest which he took in his welfare; the sincerity and ardor of his friendship; and that, though his presence was eminently wanted at Calcutta, he could not refrain from coming to his assistance, and that in the mean time he had sent four regiments to his aid; so deliberate and cool, so hypocritical and insinuating, is the villainy of this man! What heart is not exasperated by the malignity of a treachery so barefaced and dispassionate? At length, however, the nabob was on his guard. He could not be deceived by his mask. The offer of the four regiments developed to him the object of Mr. Hastings. He perceived the dagger bunglingly concealed in the hand which was treacherously extended as if to his assistance. From this moment the last faint ray of

hope expired in his bosom. We accordingly find no further confidence of the nabob in the prisoner. Mr. Middleton now swayed his iron scepter without control. The jaghires were seized. Every measure was carried. The nabob, mortified, humbled, and degraded, sank into insignificance and contempt. This letter was sent at the very time when the troops surrounded the walls of Fyzabad; and then began a scene of horrors which, if I wished to inflame your lordships' feelings, I should only have occasion minutely to describe—to state the violence committed on that palace which the piety of the kingdom had raised for the retreat and seclusion of the objects of its pride and veneration! It was in these shades, rendered sacred by superstition, that innocence reposed. Here venerable age and helpless infancy found an asylum! If we look, my lords, into the whole of this most wicked transaction, from the time when this treachery was first conceived, to that when, by a series of artifices the most execrable, it was brought to a completion, the prisoner will be seen standing aloof, indeed, but not inactive. He will be discovered reviewing his agents, rebuking at one time the pale conscience of Middleton, at another relying on the stouter villainy of Hyder Beg Cawn. With all the calmness of veteran delinquency, his eye will be seen ranging through the busy prospect, piercing the darkness of subordinate guilt, disciplining with congenial adroitness the agents of his crimes and the instruments of his cruelty.

The feelings, my lords, of the several parties at the time will be most properly judged of by their respective correspondence. When the Bow (younger) Begum, despairing of redress from the nabob, addressed herself to Mr. Middleton, and reminded him of the guarantee which he had signed, she was instantly promised that the amount of her jaghire should be made good, though he said he could not interfere with the sovereign decision of the nabob respecting the lands. The deluded and unfortunate woman "thanked God that Mr. Middleton was at hand for her relief." At this very instant he was directing every effort to her destruction; for he had actually written the orders which were to take the collection out of the hands of her agents! But let it not be forgotten, my lords, when the Begum was undeceived—when she found

that British faith was no protection—when she found that she should leave the country, and prayed to the God of nations not to grant his peace to those who remained behind—there was still no charge of rebellion, no recrimination made to all her reproaches for the broken faith of the English; that, when stung to madness, she asked "how long would be her reign," there was no mention of her disaffection. The stress is therefore idle, which the counsel for the prisoner have strove to lay on these expressions of an injured and enraged woman. When at last, irritated beyond bearing, she denounced infamy on the heads of her oppressors, who is there that will not say that she spoke in a prophetic spirit; and that what she then predicted has not, even to its last letter, been accomplished? But did Mr. Middleton, even to this violence, retort any particle of accusation? No! he sent a jocose reply, stating that he had received such a letter under her seal, but that, from its contents, he could not suspect it to come from her; and begged, therefore, that she would endeavor to detect the forgery! Thus did he add to foul injuries the vile aggravation of a brutal jest. Like the tiger, he showed the savageness of his nature by grinning at his prey, and fawning over the last agonies of his unfortunate victim!

The letters, my lords, were then inclosed to the nabob, who, no more than the rest, made any attempt to justify himself by imputing any criminality to the Begums. He only sighed a hope that his conduct to his parents had drawn no shame upon his head; and declared his intention to punish, not any disaffection in the Begums, but some officious servants who had dared to foment the misunderstanding between them and himself. A letter was finally sent to Mr. Hastings, about six days before the seizure of the treasures from the Begums, declaring their innocence, and referring the governor general, in proof of it, to Captain Gordon, whose life they had protected, and whose safety should have been their justification. This inquiry was never made. It was looked on as unnecessary, because the conviction of their innocence was too deeply impressed already.

The counsel, my lords, in recommending an attention to the public in reference to the private letters, remarked particularly that one of the latter should not be taken in

evidence, because it was evidently and abstractly private, relating the anxieties of Mr. Middleton on account of the illness of his son. This is a singular argument indeed. The circumstance, however, undoubtedly merits strict observation, though not in the view in which it was placed by the counsel. It goes to show that some, at least, of the persons concerned in these transactions felt the force of those ties which their efforts were directed to tear asunder; that those who could ridicule the respective attachment of a mother and a son; who could prohibit the reverence of the son to the mother; who could deny to maternal debility the protection which filial tenderness should afford, were yet sensible of the straining of those chords by which they are connected. There is something in the present business, with all that is horrible to create aversion, so vilely loathsome as to excite disgust. It is, my lords, surely superfluous to dwell on the sacredness of the ties which those aliens to feeling, those apostates to humanity, thus divided. In such an assembly as the one before which I speak, there is not an eye but must look reproof to this conduct, not a heart but must anticipate its condemnation. Filial piety! It is the primal bond of society. It is that instinctive principle which, panting for its proper good, soothes, unbidden, each sense and sensibility of man. It now quivers on every lip. It now beams from every eye. It is that gratitude which, softening under the sense of recollected good, is eager to own the vast, countless debt it never, alas! can pay, for so many long years of unceasing solicitudes, honorable self-denials, life-preserving cares. It is that part of our practice where duty drops its awe, where reverence refines into love. It asks no aid of memory. It needs not the deductions of reason. Preëxisting, paramount over all, whether moral law or human rule, few arguments can increase, and none can diminish it. It is the sacrament of our nature; not only the duty, but the indulgence of man. It is his first great privilege. It is among his last most endearing delights. It causes the bosom to glow with reverberated love. It requites the visitation of nature, and returns the blessings that have been received. It fires emotion into vital principle. It changes what was instinct into a master passion; sways all the sweetest energies of man; hangs over each vicissitude of

all that must pass away; and aids the melancholy virtues in their last sad tasks of life, to cheer the languors of decrepitude and age; and

"Explore the thought, explain the aching eye!"

But, my lords, I am ashamed to consume so much of your lordships' time in attempting to give a cold picture of this sacred impulse, when I behold so many breathing testimonies of its influence around me; when every countenance in this assembly is beaming, and erecting itself into the recognition of this universal principle!

The expressions contained in the letter of Mr. Middleton, of tender solicitude for his son, have been also mentioned as a proof of the amiableness of his affections. I confess that they do not tend to raise his character in my estimation. Is it not rather an aggravation of his guilt, that he, who thus felt the anxieties of a parent, and who, consequently, must be sensible of the reciprocal feelings of a child, could be brought to tear asunder, and violate in others, all those dear and sacred bonds? Does it not enhance the turpitude of the transaction, that it was not the result of idiotic ignorance or brutal indifference? I aver that his guilt is increased and magnified by these considerations. His criminality would have been less had he been insensible to tenderness—less, if he had not been so thoroughly acquainted with the true quality of parental love and filial duty.

The jaghires being seized, my lords, the Begums were left without the smallest share of that pecuniary compensation promised by Mr. Middleton as an equivalent for the resumption. And as tyranny and injustice, when they take the field, are always attended by their camp followers, paltry pilfering and petty insult, so in this instance, the goods taken from the princesses were sold at a mock sale at an inferior value. Even gold and jewels, to use the language of the Begums, instantly lost their value when it was known that they came from them. Their ministers were imprisoned, to extort the deficiency which this fraud occasioned; and every mean art was employed to justify a continuance of cruelty toward them. Yet this was small to the frauds of Mr. Hastings. After extort-

ing upward of £600,000, he forbade Mr. Middleton to come to a conclusive settlement with the princesses. He knew that the treasons of our allies in India had their origin solely in the wants of the company. He could not, therefore, say that the Begums were entirely innocent, until he had consulted the General Record of Crimes, the cash account of Calcutta! His prudence was fully justified by the event; for there was actually found a balance of twenty-six lacs more against the Begums, which £260,000 worth of treason had never been dreamed of before. "Talk not to us," said the governor general, "of their guilt or innocence, but as it suits the company's credit! We will not try them by the Code of Justinian, nor the Institutes of Timur. We will not judge them either by British laws, or their local customs! No! we will try them by the multiplication table; we will find the guilty by the rule of three; and we will condemn them according to the unerring rules of—Cocker's Arithmetic!"

My lords, the prisoner has said in his defense, that the cruelties exercised toward the Begums were not of his order. But in another part of it he avows, "that whatever were their distresses, and whoever was the agent in the measure, it was, in his opinion, reconcilable to justice, honor, and sound policy." By the testimony of Major Scott, it appears that, though the defense of the prisoner was not drawn up by himself, yet that this paragraph he wrote with his own proper hand. Middleton, it seems, had confessed his share in these transactions with some degree of compunction, and solicitude as to the consequences. The prisoner, observing it, cries out to him, "Give me the pen, I will defend the measure as just and necessary. I will take something upon myself. Whatever part of the load you cannot bear, my unburdened character shall assume! Your conduct I will crown with my irresistible approbation. Do you find memory and I will find character, and thus twin warriors we will go into the field, each in his proper sphere of action, and assault, repulse, and contumely shall all be set at defiance."

If I could not prove, my lords, that those acts of Mr. Middleton were in reality the acts of Mr. Hastings, I should not trouble your lordships by combating them; but as this part of his criminality can be incontestably ascertained, I appeal to the

assembled legislators of this realm to say whether these acts were justifiable on the score of policy. I appeal to all the august presidents in the courts of British justice, and to all the learned ornaments of the profession, to decide whether these acts were reconcilable to justice. I appeal to the reverend assemblage of prelates feeling for the general interests of humanity and for the honor of the religion to which they belong, to determine whether these acts of Mr. Hastings and Mr. Middleton were such as a Christian ought to perform, or a man to avow.

My lords, with the ministers of the nabob [Bahar Ally Cawn and Jewar Ally Cawn] was confined in the same prison that arch rebel Sumshire Cawn, against whom so much criminality has been charged by the counsel for the prisoner. We hear, however, of no inquiry having been made concerning his treason, though so many were held respecting the treasures of the others. With all his guilt, he was not so far noticed as to be deprived of his food, to be complimented with fetters, or even to have the satisfaction of being scourged, but was cruelly liberated from a dungeon, and ignominiously let loose on his parole!

[Here Mr. Sheridan read the following order from Mr. Middleton to Lieutenant Rutledge in relation to the Begum's ministers, dated January 28, 1782:]

"Sir,—When this note is delivered to you by Hoolas Roy, I have to desire that you order the two prisoners to be put in irons, keeping them from all food, etc., agreeably to my instructions of yesterday.

"Nath. Middleton."

The Begums' ministers, on the contrary, to extort from them the disclosure of the place which concealed the treasures, were, according to the evidence of Mr. Holt, after being fettered and imprisoned, led out on a scaffold, and this array of terrors proving unavailing, the meek-tempered Middleton, as a dernier resort, menaced them with a confinement in the fortress of Churnarger. Thus, my lords, was a British garrison made the climax of cruelties! To English arms, to English officers, around whose banners humanity has ever entwined her most glorious wreath, how will this sound? It was in this fort, where the British flag was flying, that these

helpless prisoners were doomed to deeper dungeons, heavier chains, and severer punishments. Where that flag was displayed which was wont to cheer the depressed, and to dilate the subdued heart of misery, these venerable but unfortunate men were fated to encounter every aggravation of horror and distress. It, moreover, appears that they were both cruelly flogged, though one was above seventy years of age. Being charged with disaffection, they vindicated their innocence—"Tell us where are the remaining treasures," was the reply. "It is only treachery to your immediate sovereigns, and you will then be fit associates for the representatives of British faith and British justice in India!" O Faith! O Justice! I conjure you by your sacred names to depart for a moment from this place, though it be your peculiar residence; nor hear your names profaned by such a sacrilegious combination as that which I am now compelled to repeat—where all the fair forms of nature and art, truth and peace, policy and honor, shrink back aghast from the deleterious shade—where all existences, nefarious and vile, have sway—where, amid the black agents on one side and Middleton with Impey on the other, the great figure of the piece—characteristic in his place, aloof and independent from the puny profligacy in his train, but far from idle and inactive, turning a malignant eye on all mischief that awaits him; the multiplied apparatus of temporizing expedients and intimidating instruments, now cringing on his prey, and fawning on his vengeance—now quickening the limping pace of craft, and forcing every stand that retiring nature can make to the heart; the attachments and the decorums of life; each emotion of tenderness and honor; and all the distinctions of national pride; with a long catalogue of crimes and aggravations beyond the reach of thought for human malignity to perpetrate or human vengeance to punish; lower than perdition—blacker than despair!

It might, my lords, have been hoped, for the honor of the human heart, that the Begums were themselves exempted from a share in these sufferings, and that they had been wounded only through the sides of their ministers. The reverse of this, however, is the fact. Their palace was surrounded by a guard, which was withdrawn by Major Gilpin to avoid the growing resentments of the people, and replaced by Mr. Mid-

dleton, through his fears of that "dreadful responsibility" which was imposed upon him by Mr. Hastings. The women, also, of the Khord Mahal, who were not involved in the Begums' supposed crimes; who had raised no sub-rebellion of their own; and who, it has been proved, lived in a distinct dwelling, were causelessly implicated, nevertheless, in the same punishment. Their residence surrounded with guards, they were driven to despair by famine, and when they poured forth in sad procession, were beaten with bludgeons, and forced back by the soldiery to the scene of madness which they had quitted. These are acts, my lords, which, when told, need no comment. I will not offer a single syllable to awaken your lordships' feelings; but leave it to the facts which have been stated to make their own impression.

The inquiry which now only remains, my lords, is, whether Mr. Hastings is to be answerable for the crimes committed by his agents? It has been fully proved that Mr. Middleton signed the treaty with the superior Begum in October 1778. He also acknowledged signing some others of a different date, but could not recollect the authority by which he did it! These treaties were recognized by Mr. Hastings, as appears by the evidence of Mr. Purling, in the year 1780. In that of October 1778, the jaghire was secured, which was allotted for the support of the women in the Khord Mahal. But still the prisoner pleads that he is not accountable for the cruelties which were exercised. His is the plea which tyranny, aided by its prime minister, treachery, is always sure to set up. Mr. Middleton has attempted to strengthen this ground by endeavoring to claim the whole infamy in those transactions, and to monopolize the guilt! He dared even to aver that he had been condemned by Mr. Hastings for the ignominious part he had acted. He dared to avow this, because Mr. Hastings was on his trial, and he thought he never would be arraigned; but in the face of this court, and before he left the bar, he was compelled to confess that it was for the leniency, and not severity of his proceedings, that he had been reproved by the prisoner.

It will not, I trust, be concluded that, because Mr. Hastings has only given the bold outline of cruelty, he is therefore to be acquitted. It is laid down by the law of England, that law which is the perfection of reason, that a person ordering an

act to be done by his agent is answerable for that act with all its consequences: "quod facit per alium, facit per se." Middleton was appointed, in 1777, the confidential agent, the second self of Mr. Hastings. The governor general ordered the measure. Even if he never saw, nor heard afterward of its consequences, he was therefore answerable for every pang that was inflicted, and for all the blood that was shed. But he did hear, and that instantly, of the whole. He wrote to accuse Middleton of forbearance and of neglect! He commanded him to work upon the hopes and fears of the princesses, and to leave no means untried, until, to speak his own language, which was better suited to the banditti of a cavern, "he obtained possession of the secret hoards of the old ladies." He would not allow even of a delay of two days to smooth the compelled approaches of a son to his mother, on this occasion! His orders were peremptory. After this, my lords, can it be said that the prisoner was ignorant of the acts, or not culpable for their consequences? It is true, he did not direct the guards, the famine, and the bludgeons; he did not weigh the fetters, nor number the lashes to be inflicted on his victims; but yet he is just as guilty as if he had borne an active and personal share in each transaction. It is as if he had commanded that the heart should be torn from the bosom, and enjoined that no blood should follow. He is in the same degree accountable to the law, to his country, to his conscience, and to his God!

The prisoner has endeavored also to get rid of a part of his guilt, by observing that he was but one of the supreme council, and that all the rest had sanctioned those transactions with their approbation. Even if it were true that others did participate in the guilt, it cannot tend to diminish his criminality. But the fact is, that the council erred in nothing so much as in a reprehensible credulity given to the declarations of the governor general. They knew not a word of those transactions until they were finally concluded. It was not until the January following that they saw the mass of falsehood which had been published under the title of "Mr. Hastings' Narrative." They were, then, unaccountably duped to permit a letter to pass, dated the twenty-ninth of November, intended to seduce the directors into a belief that they had received intelligence at that time, which was not the fact. These observations, my lords,

are not meant to cast any obloquy on the council; they undoubtedly were deceived; and the deceit practiced on them is a decided proof of his consciousness of guilt. When tired of corporeal infliction, Mr. Hastings was gratified by insulting the understanding. The coolness and reflection with which this act was managed and concerted raises its enormity and blackens its turpitude. It proves the prisoner to be that monster in nature, a deliberate and reasoning tyrant! Other tyrants of whom we read, such as a Nero, or a Caligula, were urged to their crimes by the impetuosity of passion. High rank disqualified them from advice, and perhaps equally prevented reflection. But in the prisoner we have a man born in a state of mediocrity; bred to mercantile life; used to system, and accustomed to regularity; who was accountable to his masters, and therefore was compelled to think and to deliberate on every part of his conduct. It is this cool deliberation, I say, which renders his crimes more horrible, and his character more atrocious.

When, my lords, the Board of Directors received the advices which Mr. Hastings thought proper to transmit, though unfurnished with any other materials to form their judgment, they expressed very strongly their doubts, and properly ordered an inquiry into the circumstances of the alleged disaffection of the Begums, declaring it, at the same time, to be a debt which was due to the honor and justice of the British nation. This inquiry, however, Mr. Hastings thought it absolutely necessary to elude. He stated to the council, in answer, "that it would revive those animosities that subsisted between the Begums and the nabob [Asoph Dowlah], which had then subsided. If the former were inclined to appeal to a foreign jurisdiction, they were the best judges of their own feeling, and should be left to make their own complaint." All this, however, my lords, is nothing to the magnificent paragraph which concludes this communication. "Besides," says he, "I hope it will not be a departure from official language to say, that the majesty of justice ought not to be approached without solicitation. She ought not to descend to inflame or provoke, but to withhold her judgment until she is called on to determine." What is still more astonishing, is, that Sir John Macpherson, who, though a man of sense and honor, is rather Oriental in

his imagination and not learned in the sublime and beautiful from the immortal leader of this prosecution, was caught by this bold, bombastic quibble, and joined in the same words, "that the majesty of justice ought not to be approached without solicitation." But, my lords, do you, the judges of this land, and the expounders of its rightful laws, do you approve of this mockery and call it the character of justice which takes the form of right to excite wrong? No, my lords, justice is not this halt and miserable object; it is not the ineffective bawble of an Indian pagoda; it is not the portentous phantom of despair; it is not like any fabled monster, formed in the eclipse of reason, and found in some unhallowed grove of superstitious darkness and political dismay! No, my lords. In the happy reverse of all this, I turn from the disgusting caricature to the real image! Justice I have now before me august and pure! The abstract idea of all that would be perfect in the spirits and the aspirings of men!—where the mind rises; where the heart expands; where the countenance is ever placid and benign; where her favorite attitude is to stoop to the unfortunate; to hear their cry and to help them; to rescue and relieve, to succor and save; majestic, from her mercy; venerable, from her utility; uplifted, without pride; firm, without obduracy; beneficent in each preference; lovely, though in her frown!

On that justice I rely: deliberate and sure, abstracted from all party purpose and political speculation; not on words, but on facts. You, my lords, who hear me, I conjure, by those rights which it is your best privilege to preserve; by that fame which it is your best pleasure to inherit; by all those feelings which refer to the first term in the series of existence, the original compact of our nature, our controlling rank in the creation. This is the call on all to administer to truth and equity, as they would satisfy the laws and satisfy themselves, with the most exalted bliss possible or conceivable for our nature; the self-approving consciousness of virtue, when the condemnation we look for will be one of the most ample mercies accomplished for mankind since the creation of the world! My lords, I have done.

WILLIAM PITT

ON THE REFUSAL TO NEGOTIATE WITH FRANCE

[William Pitt was born in Hayes, Kent, in 1759, being the second son of the "great" Earl of Chatham. He took his degree at Cambridge and entered Parliament, where he became chancellor of the exchequer at twenty-three, and such a favorite with the king and the country that he was appointed prime minister before he had attained his twenty-fifth year. The appointment was resorted to by the king as a desperate measure to avoid a ministry whose personnel was odious to him. The king's expedient proved successful, and Pitt's ministry lasted for seventeen years, baffling every effort of Fox and the opposition to hurl it from power. The great war with France, begun in 1793, was Pitt's severest ordeal, but he had also to face an Indian problem, a growing national debt, the need of a regency, legislative union with Ireland, and a series of national disasters unparalleled in English history, and induced primarily by the king's determination to force his personal will upon the nation. Pitt's eloquence enabled him to win triumph after triumph in the House of Commons, but he resigned in 1801, because the king would not accept religious equality in Ireland. But Pitt regained power a few years later and retained it until his death, in 1806. The speech that follows was spoken in the House of Commons, February 3, 1800, and was replied to by Fox on the same day. Napoleon had recently been proclaimed first consul. Peace was negotiated in 1802 but was of short duration.]

I WILL enlarge no further on the origin of the war. I have read and detailed to you a system which was in itself a declaration of war against all nations; which was so intended, and which has been so applied; which has been exemplified in the extreme peril and hazard of almost all who for a moment have trusted to treaty and which has not at this hour overwhelmed Europe in one indiscriminate mass of ruin, only because we have not indulged, to a fatal extremity, that disposition which we have, however, indulged too far—because we have not consented to trust to profession and compromise, rather than to our own valor and exertion, for security against a system from

which we never shall be delivered till either the principle is extinguished or its strength is exhausted.

I might, sir, if I found it necessary, enter into much detail upon this part of the subject. You cannot look at the map of Europe and lay your hand upon that country against which France has not either declared an open and aggressive war, or violated some positive treaty, or broken some recognized principle of the law of nations.

Let us look at the conduct of France. She had spurned the offers of Great Britain; she had reduced her Continental enemies to the necessity of accepting a precarious peace; she had (in spite of those pledges repeatedly made and uniformly violated) surrounded herself by new conquests on every part of her frontier but one. That one was Switzerland. The first effect of being relieved from the war with Austria, of being secured against all fears of Continental invasion on the ancient territory of France, was their unprovoked attack against this unoffending and devoted country.

The country they attacked was one which had long been the faithful ally of France; which, instead of giving cause of jealousy to any other power, had been for ages proverbial for the simplicity and innocence of its manners, and which had acquired and preserved the esteem of all the nations of Europe; which had almost, by the common consent of mankind, been exempted from the sound of war, and marked out as a land of Goshen, safe and untouched in the midst of surrounding calamities.

Look, then, at the fate of Switzerland, at the circumstances which led to its destruction. Add this instance to the catalogue of aggression against all Europe, and then tell me whether the system I have described has not been prosecuted with an unrelenting spirit which cannot be appeased in prosperity, which neither solemn professions, nor the general law of nations, nor the obligation of treaties (whether previous to the revolution or subsequent to it) could restrain from the subversion of every state into which, either by force or fraud, their arms could penetrate.

Then tell me, whether the disasters of Europe are to be charged upon the provocation of this country and its allies, or on the inherent principle of the French Revolution, of which

the natural result produced so much misery and carnage in France and carried desolation and terror over so large a portion of the world.

After this, it remains only shortly to remind gentlemen of the aggression against Egypt, not omitting, however, to notice the capture of Malta on the way to Egypt. Inconsiderable as that island may be thought, compared with the scenes we have witnessed, let it be remembered that it is an island of which the government had long been recognized by every state of Europe, against which France pretended no cause of war, and whose independence was as dear to itself and as sacred as that of any country in Europe. It was in fact not unimportant, from its local situation to the other powers of Europe; but in proportion as any man may diminish its importance the instance will only serve the more to illustrate and confirm the proposition which I have maintained.

The all-searching eye of the French Revolution looks to every part of Europe and every quarter of the world in which can be found an object either of acquisition or plunder. Nothing is too great for the temerity of its ambition, nothing too small or insignificant for the grasp of its rapacity. From hence Bonaparte and his army proceeded to Egypt.

The attack was made; pretenses were held out to the natives of that country in the name of the French king whom they had murdered. They pretended to have the approbation of the grand seignior whose territory they were violating; their project was carried on under the profession of a zeal for Mohammedanism; it was carried on by proclaiming that France had been reconciled to the Mussulman faith, had abjured that of Christianity, or, as he in his impious language termed it, of the sect of the Messiah.

The only plea which they have since held out to color this atrocious invasion of a neutral and friendly territory is that it was the road to attack the English power in India. It is most unquestionably true that this was one and a principle cause of this unparalleled outrage; but another and an equally substantial cause (as appears by their own statements) was the division and partition of the territories of what they thought a falling power. It is impossible to dismiss this subject without observing that this attack against Egypt was accompanied by

an attack upon British possessions in India, made on true revolutionary principles. In Europe the propagation of the principles of France had uniformly prepared the way for the progress of its arms.

What, then, was the nature of this system? Was it anything but what I have stated it to be—an insatiable love of aggrandizement, an implacable spirit of destruction against all the civil and religious institutions of every country? This is the first moving and acting spirit of the French Revolution; this is the spirit which animated it at its birth, and this is the spirit which will not desert it till the moment of its dissolution, "which grew with its growth, which strengthened with its strength," but which has not abated under its misfortunes nor declined in its decay. It has been invariably the same in every period, operating more or less, according as accident or circumstances might assist it; but it has been inherent in the Revolution in all stages; it has equally belonged to Brissot, to Robespierre, to Tallien, to Reubel, to Barras, and to every one of the leaders of the Directory, but to none more than to Bonaparte, in whom now all their powers are united.

Its first fundamental principle was to bribe the poor against the rich by proposing to transfer into new hands, on the delusive notion of equality, and in breach of every principle of justice, the whole property of the country. The practical application of this principle was to devote the whole of that property to indiscriminate plunder, and to make it the foundation of a revolutionary system of finance, productive in proportion to the misery and desolation which it created.

It has been accompanied by an unwearied spirit of proselytism, diffusing itself over all the nations of the earth: a spirit which can apply itself to all circumstances and all situations, which can furnish a list of grievances and hold out a promise of redress equally to all nations; which inspired the teachers of French liberty with the hope of alike recommending themselves to those who live under the feudal code of the German Empire; to the various States of Italy, under all their different institutions; to the old republicans of Holland, and to the new republicans of America; to the Catholic of Ireland, whom it was to deliver from Protestant usurpation; the Protestant of Switzerland, whom it was to deliver from

popish superstition; and to the Mussulman of Egypt, whom it was to deliver from Christian persecution; to the remote Indian, blindly bigoted to his ancient institutions; and to the natives of Great Britain, enjoying the perfection of practical freedom, and justly attached to their Constitution, from the joint result of habit, of reason, and of experience.

The last and distinguishing feature is a perfidy which nothing can bind, which no tie of treaty, no sense of the principles generally received among nations, no obligation, human or divine, can restrain. Thus qualified, thus armed for destruction, the genius of the French Revolution marched forth, the terror and dismay of the world. Every nation has in its turn been the witness, many have been the victims of its principles; and it is left for us to decide whether we will compromise with such a danger while we have yet resources to supply the sinews of war, while the heart and spirit of the country are yet unbroken, and while we have the means of calling forth and supporting a powerful coöperation in Europe.

In examining this part of the subject let it be remembered that there is one other characteristic of the French Revolution as striking as its dreadful and destructive principles: I mean the instability of its government, which has been of itself sufficient to destroy all reliance, if any such reliance could at any time have been placed on the good faith of any of its rulers. Such has been the incredible rapidity with which the revolutions in France have succeeded each other, that I believe the names of those who have successively exercised absolute power under the pretense of liberty are to be numbered by the years of the Revolution, and by each of the new constitutions, which, under the same pretense, has in its turn been imposed by force on France: all of which alike were founded upon principles which professed to be among all the nations of the earth. Each of these will be found, upon an average, to have had about two years as the period of its duration.

Having taken a view of what it was, let us now examine what it is. In the first place we see, as has been truly stated, a change in the description and form of the sovereign authority. A supreme power is placed at the head of this nominal republic, with a more open avowal of military despotism than at any former period; with a more open and undisguised abandon-

ment of the names and pretenses under which that despotism long attempted to conceal itself. The different institutions, republican in their form and appearance, which were before the instruments of that despotism, are now annihilated; they have given way to the absolute power of one man, concentrating in himself all the authority of the State, and differing from other monarchs only in this, that (as my honorable friend, Mr. Canning, truly stated it) he wields a sword instead of a scepter. What then, is the confidence we are to derive either from the frame of the government or from the character and past conduct of the person who is now the absolute ruler of France?

Had we seen a man of whom we had no previous knowledge suddenly invested with the sovereign authority of the country; invested with the power of taxation, with the power of the sword, the power of war and peace, the unlimited power of commanding the resources, of disposing of the lives and fortunes of every man in France; if we had seen at the same moment all the inferior machinery, of the Revolution, which, under the variety of successive shocks, had kept the system in motion, still remaining entire, all that, by requisition and plunder, had given activity to the revolutionary system of finance, and had furnished the means of creating an army, by converting every man who was of age to bear arms into a soldier, not for the defense of his own country, but for the sake of carrying the war into the country of the enemy; if we had seen all the subordinate instruments of Jacobin power subsisting in their full force, and retaining (to use the French phrase) all their original organization, and had then observed this single change in the conduct of their affairs that there was now one man, with no rival to thwart his measures, no colleague to divide his powers, no council to control his operations, no liberty of speaking or writing, no expression of public opinion to check or influence his conduct; under such circumstances should we be wrong to pause, or wait for the evidence of facts and experience, before we consented to trust our safety to the forbearance of a single man, in such a situation, and to relinquish those means of defense which have hitherto carried us safe through all the storms of the Revolution? if we were to ask what are the principles and character of this

stranger to whom fortune has suddenly committed the concerns of a great and powerful nation?

But is this the actual state of the present question? Are we talking of a stranger of whom we have heard nothing? No, sir, we have heard of him; we, and Europe, and the world, have heard both of him and of the satellites by whom he is surrounded, and it is impossible to discuss fairly the propriety of any answer which could be returned to his overtures of negotiation without taking into consideration the inferences to be drawn from his personal character and conduct.

If we carry our views out of France and look at the dreadful catalogue of all the breaches of treaty and which are precisely commensurate with the number of treaties which the republic has made (for I have sought in vain for any one which it has made and which it has not broken), if we trace the history of them all from the beginning of the Revolution to the present time, or if we select those which have been accompanied by the most atrocious cruelty and marked the most strongly with the characteristic features of the Revolution, the name of Bonaparte will be found allied to more of them than that of any other that can be handed down in the history of the crimes and miseries of the last ten years.

It is unnecessary to say more with respect to the credit due to his professions or the reliance to be placed on his general character. But it will perhaps be argued that whatever may be his character or whatever has been his past conduct, he has now an interest in making and observing peace. That he has an interest in making peace is at best but a doubtful proposition, and that he has an interest in preserving it is still more uncertain. That it is his interest to negotiate I do not indeed deny. It is his interest, above all, to engage this country in separate negotiation in order to loosen and dissolve the whole system of the confederacy on the Continent, to palsy at once the arms of Russia, or of Austria, or of any other country that might look to you for support; and then either to break off his separate treaty, or, if he should have concluded it, to apply the lesson which is taught in his school of policy in Egypt, and to revive at his pleasure those claims of indemnification which may have been reserved to some happier period.

This is precisely the interest which he has in negotiation.

But on what grounds are we to be convinced that he has an interest in concluding and observing a solid and permanent pacification? Under all the circumstances of his personal character, and his newly acquired power, what other security has he for retaining that power but the sword? His hold upon France is the sword, and he has no other. Is he connected with the soil, or with the habits, the affections, or the prejudices of the country? He is a stranger, a foreigner, and a usurper. He unites in his own person everything that a pure republican must detest; everything that an enraged Jacobin has abjured; everything that a sincere and faithful royalist must feel as an insult. If he is opposed at any time in his career, what is his appeal? He appeals to his fortune—in other words, to his army and his sword. Placing, then, his whole reliance upon military support, can he afford to let his military renown pass away, to let his laurels wither, to let the memory of his trophies sink in obscurity? Is it certain that, with his army confined within France and restrained from inroads upon her neighbors, he can maintain at his devotion a force sufficiently numerous to support his power? Having no object but the possession of absolute dominion, no passion but military glory, is it to be reckoned as certain that he can feel such an interest in permanent peace as would justify us in laying down our arms, reducing our expense, and relinquishing our means of security, on the faith of his engagements?

Do we believe that, after the conclusion of peace, he would not still sigh over the lost trophies of Egypt, wrested from him by the celebrated victory of Aboukir [1] and the brilliant exertions of that heroic band of British seamen whose influence and example rendered the Turkish troops invincible at Acre? [2] Can he forget that the effect of these exploits enabled Austria and Russia in one campaign to recover from France all which she had acquired by his victories, to dissolve the charm which for a time fascinated Europe, and to show that their generals, contending in a just cause, could efface even by

[1] Better known as the Battle of the Nile, won by Nelson on August 1 and 2, 1798.

[2] Napoleon's failure to reduce Acre, as defended by Sir Sidney Smith in 1799.

their success and their military glory the most dazzling triumphs of his victorious and desolating ambition?

Can we believe, with these impressions on his mind, that if, after a year, eighteen months, or two years of peace had elapsed, he should be tempted by the appearance of fresh insurrection in Ireland, encouraged by renewed and unrestrained communication with France, and fomented by the fresh infusion of Jacobin principles; if we were at such a moment without a fleet to watch the ports of France or to guard the coasts of Ireland, without a disposable army or an embodied militia capable of supplying a speedy and adequate reinforcement, and that he had suddenly the means of transporting thither a body of twenty or thirty thousand French troops; can we believe that at such a moment his ambition and vindictive spirit would be restrained by the recollection of engagements or the obligation of treaty? Or if, in some new crisis of difficulty and danger to the Ottoman empire, with no British navy in the Mediterranean, no confederacy formed, no force collected to support it, an opportunity should present itself for resuming the abandoned expedition to Egypt, for renewing the avowed and favorite project of conquering and colonizing that rich and fertile country, and of opening the way to wound some of the vital interests of England and to plunder the treasures of the East in order to fill the bankrupt coffers of France? Would it be the interest of Bonaparte under such circumstances, or his principles, his moderation, his love of peace, his aversion to conquest, and his regard for the independence of other nations—would it be all or any of these that would secure us against an attempt which would leave us only the option of submitting without a struggle to certain loss and disgrace, or of renewing the contest which we had prematurely terminated, without allies, without preparation, with diminished means, and with increased difficulty and hazard?

Hitherto I have spoken only of the reliance which we can place on the professions, the character, and the conduct of the present first consul; but it remains to consider the stability of his power. The Revolution has been marked throughout by a rapid succession of new depositaries of public authority, each supplanting its predecessor. What grounds have we to

believe that this new usurpation, more odious and more undisguised than all that preceded it, will be more durable? Is it that we rely on the particular provisions contained in the code of the pretended constitution, which was proclaimed as accepted by the French people as soon as the garrison of Paris declared their determination to exterminate all its enemies, and before any of its articles could be known to half the country whose consent was required for its establishment?

I will not pretend to inquire deeply into the nature and effects of a constitution which can hardly be regarded but as a farce and a mockery. If, however, it could be supposed that its provisions were to have any effect, it seems equally adapted to two purposes—that of giving to its founder for a time an absolute and uncontrolled authority, and that of laying the certain foundation of disunion and discord which, if they once prevail, must render the exercise of all the authority under the constitution impossible and leave no appeal but to the sword.

Is, then, military despotism that which we are accustomed to consider as a stable form of government? In all ages of the world it has been attained with the least stability to the persons who exercised it, and with the most rapid succession of changes and revolutions. In the outset of the French Revolution its advocates boasted that it furnished a security forever, not to France only, but to all countries in the world, against military despotism; that the force of standing armies was vain and delusive; that no artificial power could resist public opinion; and that it was upon the foundation of public opinion alone that any government could stand. I believe that in this instance, as in every other, the progress of the French Revolution has belied its professions; but, so far from its being a proof of the prevalence of public opinion against military force, it is, instead of the proof, the strongest exception from that doctrine which appears in the history of the world.

If, then, I am asked how long are we to persevere in the war, I can only say that no period can be accurately assigned. Considering the importance of obtaining complete security for the objects for which we contend, we ought not to be discouraged too soon; but, on the contrary considering the importance of not impairing and exhausting the radical strength

of the country, there are limits beyond which we ought not to persist, and which we can determine only by estimating and comparing fairly from time to time the degree of security to be obtained by treaty, and the risk and disadvantage of continuing the contest.

But, sir, there are some gentlemen in the House who seem to consider it already certain that the ultimate success to which I am looking is unattainable. They suppose us contending only for the restoration of the French monarchy, which they believe to be impracticable, and deny to be desirable for this country. We have been asked in the course of this debate: Do you think you can impose monarchy upon France against the will of the nation? I never thought it, I never hoped it, I never wished it. I have thought, I have hoped, I have wished, that the time might come when the effect of the arms of the allies might so far overpower the military force which keeps France in bondage as to give vent and scope to the thoughts and actions of its inhabitants.

On the question, sir, how far the restoration of the French monarchy, if practicable, is desirable, I shall not think it necessary to say much. Can it be supposed to be indifferent to us or to the world whether the throne of France is to be filled by a prince of the House of Bourbon or by him whose principles and conduct I have endeavored to develop? Is it nothing, with a view to influence and example, whether the fortune of this last adventurer in the lottery of revolutions shall appear to be permanent? Is it nothing whether a system shall be sanctioned which confirms, by one of its fundamental articles, that general transfer of property from its ancient and lawful possessors, which holds out one of the most terrible examples of national injustice, and which has furnished the great source of revolutionary finance and revolutionary strength against all the powers of Europe?

In the exhausted and impoverished state of France it seems for a time impossible that any system but that of robbery and confiscation, anything but the continued torture which can be applied only by the engines of the revolution, can extort from its ruined inhabitants more than the means of supporting in peace the yearly expenditure of its government. Suppose, then, the heir of the house of Bourbon reinstated on the

throne; he will have sufficient occupation in endeavoring, if possible, to heal the wounds and gradually to repair the losses of ten years of civil convulsion—to reanimate the drooping commerce, to rekindle the industry, to replace the capital, and to revive the manufactures of the country.

Under such circumstances there must probably be a considerable interval before such a monarch, whatever may be his views, can possess the power which can make him formidable to Europe; but while the system of the Revolution continues the case is quite different. It is true indeed that even the gigantic and unnatural means by which that Revolution has been supported are so far impaired, the influence of its principles and the terror of its arms so far weakened, and its power of action so much contracted that against the embodied force of Europe, prosecuting a vigorous war, we may justly hope that the remnant and wreck of this system cannot long oppose an effectual resistance.

Can we forget that in the ten years in which that power has subsisted it has brought more misery on surrounding nations and produced more acts of aggression, cruelty, perfidy, and enormous ambition than can be traced in the history of France for the centuries which have elapsed since the foundation of its monarchy, including all the wars which in the course of that period have been waged by any of those sovereigns whose projects of aggrandizement and violations of treaty afford a constant theme of general reproach against the ancient government of France? And if not, can we hesitate whether we have the best prospect of permanent peace, the best security for the independence and safety of Europe, from the restoration of the lawful government or from the continuance of revolutionary power in the hands of Bonaparte?

In compromise and treaty with such a power, placed in such hands as now exercise it, and retaining the same means of annoyance which it now possesses, I see little hope of permanent security. I see no possibility at this moment of such a peace as would justify that liberal intercourse which is the essence of real amity; no chance of terminating the expenses or the anxieties of war, or of restoring to us any of the advantages of established tranquillity; and, as a sincere lover of peace, I cannot be content with its nominal attainment. I must be

desirous of pursuing that system which promises to attain in the end the permanent enjoyment of its solid and substantial blessings for this country and for Europe. As a sincere lover of peace I will not sacrifice it by grasping at the shadow when the reality is not substantially within my reach.

CHARLES JAMES FOX

ON THE REJECTION OF NAPOLEON'S OVERTURES

[Charles James Fox, an English statesman, was born in London in 1749. His irregular education included study at Oxford, and before he came of age he was elected to Parliament through family influence. His talents brought him prominence and he held many public offices. Throughout the American War of Independence he strenuously resisted the repressive policy of the British government and upheld the cause of the patriots under Washington. The struggle of his career was against Pitt, who came into power in 1782, and whose administration Fox assailed powerfully but ineffectually for years. The impeachment of Warren Hastings, the inauguration and development of the French Revolution, the circumstances attendant upon the establishment of the Regency in England, and the war against France afforded Fox occasions for a display of his genius as an orator. But he was never able to gain the full confidence of his country, although he attained now and again the summit of popularity and was even appointed to a place in the ministry. After Pitt's death he was foreign secretary in the Grenville administration. He died in 1806. The speech that follows was a reply to Pitt's speech urging the rejection of Napoleon's overtures. It is interesting as a peace speech in time of war. The conclusion only is given.]

"It is not the interest of Bonaparte," it seems, "sincerely to enter into a negotiation, or, if he should even make peace, sincerely to keep it." But how are we to decide upon his sincerity? By refusing to treat with him? Surely, if we mean to discover his sincerity, we ought to hear the propositions which he desires to make. "But peace would be unfriendly to his system of military despotism." Sir, I hear a great deal about the short-lived nature of military despotism. I wish the history of the world would bear gentlemen out in this description of it. Was not the government erected by Augustus Cæsar a military despotism? and yet it endured for six or seven hundred years. Military despotism, unfortunately, is too likely in its nature to be permanent, and it is not true

that it depends on the life of the first usurper. Though half of the Roman emperors were murdered, yet the military despotism went on; and so it would be, I fear, in France. If Bonaparte should disappear from the scene, to make room, perhaps, for Berthier, or any other general, what difference would that make in the quality of French despotism, or in our relation to the country? We may as safely treat with a Bonaparte, or with any of his successors, be they whom they may, as we could with a Louis XVI, a Louis XVII, or a Louis XVIII. There is no difference but in the name. Where the power essentially resides, thither we ought to go for peace.

But, sir, if we are to reason on the fact, I should think that it is the interest of Bonaparte to make peace. A lover of military glory, as that general must necessarily be, may he not think that his measure of glory is full; that it may be tarnished by a reverse of fortune, and can hardly be increased by any new laurels? He must feel that, in the situation to which he is now raised, he can no longer depend on his own fortune. his own genius, and his own talents, for a continuance of his success. He must be under the necessity of employing other generals, whose misconduct or incapacity might endanger his power, or whose triumphs even might affect the interest which he holds in the opinion of the French. Peace, then, would secure to him what he has achieved, and fix the inconstancy of fortune. But this will not be his only motive. He must see that France also requires a respite—a breathing interval, to recruit her wasted strength. To procure her this respite, would be, perhaps, the attainment of more solid glory, as well as the means of acquiring more solid power, than anything which he can hope to gain from arms, and from the proudest triumphs. May he not, then, be zealous to secure this fame, perhaps, that is worth acquiring? Nay, granting that his soul may still burn with the thirst of military exploits, is it not likely that he is disposed to yield to the feelings of the French people, and to consolidate his power by consulting their interests? I have a right to argue in this way when suppositions of his insincerity are reasoned upon on the other side.

Sir, these aspersions are, in truth, always idle, and even mischievous. I have been too long accustomed to hear imputations and calumnies thrown out upon great and honorable

characters to be much influenced by them. My honorable and learned friend [Mr. Erskine] has paid this night a most just, deserved, and eloquent tribute of applause to the memory of that great and unparalleled character, who is so recently lost to the world. I must, like him, beg leave to dwell a moment on the venerable GEORGE WASHINGTON, though I know that it is impossible for me to bestow anything like adequate praise on a character which gave us, more than any other human being, the example of a perfect man; yet, good, great, and unexampled as General Washington was, I can remember the time when he was not better spoken of in this House than Bonaparte is at present. The right honorable gentleman, who opened this debate [Mr. Dundas] may remember in what terms of disdain, or virulence, even of contempt, General Washington was spoken of by gentleman on that side of the House. Does he not recollect with what marks of indignation any member was stigmatized as an enemy to his country who mentioned with common respect the name of General Washington? If a negotiation had then been proposed to be opened with that great man, what would have been said? Would you treat with a rebel, a traitor? What an example would you not give by such an act? I do not know whether the right honorable gentleman may not yet possess some of his old prejudices on the subject. I hope not; I hope by this time we are all convinced that a republican government, like that of America, may exist without danger or injury to social order, or to established monarchies. They have happily shown that they can maintain the relations of peace and amity with other states. They have shown, too, that they are alive to the feelings of honor; but they do not lose sight of plain good sense and discretion. They have not refused to negotiate with the French, and they have accordingly the hopes of a speedy termination of every difference. We cry up their conduct, but we do not imitate it. At the beginning of the struggle we were told that the French were setting up a set of wild and impracticable theories, and that we ought not to be misled by them; that they were phantoms with which we could not grapple. Now we are told that we must not treat, because, out of the lottery, Bonaparte has drawn such a prize as military despotism. Is military des-

potism a theory? One would think that that is one of the practical things which ministers might understand, and to which they would have no particular objection. But what is our present conduct founded on but a theory, and that a most wild and ridiculous theory? For what are we fighting? Not for a principle; not for security; not for conquest; but merely for an experiment and a speculation to discover whether a gentleman at Paris may not turn out a better man than we now take him to be.

Sir, I wish the atrocities of which we hear so much, and which I abhor as much as any man, were, indeed, unexampled. I fear that they do not belong exclusively to the French. When the right honorable gentleman speaks of the extraordinary successes of the last campaign, he does not mention the horrors by which some of these successes were accompanied. Naples, for instance, has been, among others, what is called *delivered;* and yet, if I am rightly informed, it has been stained and polluted by murders so ferocious and by cruelties of every kind so abhorrent, that the heart shudders at the recital. It has been said not only that the miserable victims of the rage and brutality of the fanatics were savagely murdered, but that in many instances their flesh was eaten and devoured by the cannibals, who are the advocates and the instruments of social order! Nay, England is not totally exempt from reproach, if the rumors which are circulated be true. I will mention a fact, to give ministers the opportunity, if it be false, to wipe away the stain that it must otherwise affix on the British name. It is said that a party of the republican inhabitants of Naples took shelter in the fortress of the Castel de Uovo. They were besieged by a detachment from the royal army to whom they refused to surrender; but demanded that a British officer should be brought forward, and to him they capitulated. They made terms with him under the sanction of the British name. It was agreed that their persons and property should be safe, and that they should be conveyed to Toulon. They were accordingly put on board a vessel; but before they sailed their property was confiscated, numbers of them taken out, thrown into dungeons, and some of them, I understand, notwithstanding the British guaranty, actually executed!

Where then, sir, is this war, which on every side is pregnant

with such horrors, to be carried? Where is it to stop? Not till we establish the House of Bourbon! And this you cherish the hope of doing, because you have had a successful campaign. Why, sir, before this you have had a successful campaign. The situation of the allies, with all they have gained, is surely not to be compared now to what it was when you had taken Valenciennes, Quesnoy, Condé, etc., which induced some gentlemen in this House to prepare themselves for a march to Paris. With all that you have gained, you surely will not say that the prospect is brighter now than it was then. What have you gained but the recovery of a part of what you before lost? One campaign is successful to you, another for them; and in this way, animated by the vindictive passions of revenge, hatred, and rancor, which are infinitely more flagitious, even, than those of ambition and the thirst of power, you may go on forever, as with such black incentives, I see no end to human misery.

And all this without an intelligible motive! All this because you may gain a better peace a year or two hence! So that we are called upon to go on merely as a speculation. We must keep Bonaparte for some time longer at war, as a state of probation. Gracious God, sir! is war a state of probation? Is peace a rash system? Is it dangerous for nations to live in amity with each other? Are your vigilance, your policy, your common powers of observation, to be extinguished by putting an end to the horrors of war? Cannot this state of probation be as well undergone without adding to the catalogue of human sufferings? "But we must *pause!*" What! must the bowels of Great Britain be torn out—her best blood spilled—her treasure wasted—that you may make an experiment? Put yourselves, O, that you would put yourselves in the field of battle, and learn to judge of the sort of horrors that you excite! In former wars a man might, at least, have some feeling, some interest that served to balance in his mind the impressions which a scene of carnage and of death must inflict. If a man had been present at the battle of Blenheim, for instance, and had inquired the motive of the battle, there was not a soldier engaged who could not have satisfied his curiosity, and even, perhaps, allayed his feelings. They were fighting they knew to repress the uncontrolled ambition of the Grand Mon-

arque. But if a man were present now at a field of slaughter, and were to inquire for what they were fighting, "Fighting!" would be the answer; "they are not fighting; they are *pausing.*" "Why is that man expiring? Why is that other writhing with agony? What means this implacable fury?" The answer must be: "You are quite wrong, sir; you deceive yourself—they are not fighting—do not disturb them—they are merely *pausing!* This man is not expiring with agony—that man is not dead—he is only *pausing!* Lord help you, sir; they are not angry with one another; they have now no cause of quarrel; but their country thinks that there should be a *pause.* All that you see, sir, is nothing like fighting—there is no harm, nor cruelty, nor bloodshed in it whatever; it is nothing more than a *political pause.* It is merely to try an experiment—to see whether Bonaparte will not behave himself better than heretofore; and in the meantime we have agreed to a *pause,* in pure friendship!" And is this the way, sirs, that you are to show yourselves the advocates of order? You take up a system calculated to uncivilize the world—to destroy order—to trample on religion—to stifle in the heart, not merely the generosity of noble sentiment, but the affections of social nature; and in the prosecution of this system you spread terror and devastation all around you.

Sir, I have done. I have told you my opinion. I think you ought to have given a civil, clear, and explicit answer to the overture which was fairly and handsomely made you. If you were desirous that the negotiation should have included all your allies, as the means of bringing about a general peace, you should have told Bonaparte so. But I believe you were afraid of his agreeing to the proposal. You took that method before. Ay, but you say the people were anxious for peace in 1797. I say they are friends to peace now; and I am confident that you will one day acknowledge it. Believe me, they are friends to peace; although by the laws which you have made, restraining the expression of the sense of the people, public opinion cannot now be heard as loudly and unequivocally as heretofore. But I will not go into the internal state of this country. It is too afflicting to the heart to see the strides which have been made by means of, and under the miserable pretext of, this war, against liberty of every kind, both of power of speech and

of writing, and to observe in another kingdom the rapid approaches to that military despotism which we affect to make an argument against peace. I know, sir, that public opinion, if it could be collected, would be for peace, as much now as in 1797; and that it is only by public opinion, and not by a sense of their duty, or by the inclination of their minds, that ministers will be brought, if ever, to give us peace.

I conclude, sir, with repeating what I said before: I ask for no gentleman's vote who would have reprobated the compliance of ministers with the proposition of the French government. I ask for no gentleman's support to-night who would have voted against ministers, if they had come down and proposed to enter into a negotiation with the French. But I have a right to ask, and in honor, in consistency, in conscience, I have a right to expect, the vote of every honorable gentleman who would have voted with ministers in an address to his Majesty, diametrically opposite to the motion of this night.

ROBERT EMMET

PROTEST AGAINST SENTENCE AS A TRAITOR

[Robert Emmet, an Irish patriot, was born in Dublin in 1778. He attended Trinity College in his native city, but did not take a degree. From his boyhood he attracted notice by his oratorical powers, and he was also deeply attached to the Irish revolutionary cause. He had grown up in an atmosphere of hatred to England, and even in his college days he had affiliated with secret societies of a character suspicious to the British government. For this reason, it appears, he had to leave Trinity before completing his studies. He went abroad and had interviews with French statesmen who were supposed to feel interest in an Irish uprising. He returned to Dublin and secretly raised a small force which he armed as well as he could. Then he issued proclamations and prepared to seize Dublin Castle. His movement spread panic for a time, but his followers were dispersed with no great difficulty and he himself fled. He lingered in Ireland, however, to bid farewell to Sarah Curran, to whom he was engaged to be married, and was captured and executed in 1803. The pathetic and eloquent speech that follows was made in Dublin, in 1803, after he had been sentenced to death.]

I AM asked what I have to say why sentence of death should not be pronounced on me, according to law. I have nothing to say that can alter your predetermination, nor that it will become me to say, with any view to the mitigation of that sentence which you are to pronounce, and I must abide by. But I have that to say which interests me more than life, and which you have labored to destroy. I have much to say why my reputation should be rescued from the load of false accusation and calumny which has been cast upon it. I do not imagine that, seated where you are, your mind can be so free from prejudice as to receive the least impression from what I am going to utter. I have no hopes that I can anchor my character in the breast of a court constituted and trammeled as this is. I only wish—and that is the utmost that I expect—that your lordships may suffer it to float down your memories untainted by the

foul breath of prejudice, until it finds some more hospitable harbor to shelter it from the storms by which it is buffeted. Were I only to suffer death, after being adjudged guilty by your tribunal, I should bow in silence, and meet the fate that awaits me without a murmur; but the sentence of the law which delivers my body to the executioner will, through the ministry of the law, labor in its own vindication to consign my character to obloquy; for there must be guilt somewhere; whether in the sentence of the court, or in the catastrophe, time must determine. A man in my situation has not only to encounter the difficulties of fortune, and the force of power over minds which it has corrupted or subjugated, but the difficulties of established prejudice. The man dies, but his memory lives. That mine may not perish, that it may live in the respect of my countrymen, I seize upon this opportunity to vindicate myself from some of the charges alleged against me. When my spirit shall be wafted to a more friendly port—when my shade shall have joined the bands of those martyred heroes who have shed their blood on the scaffold and in the field, in the defense of their country and of virtue, this is my hope: I wish that my memory and my name may animate those who survive me, while I look down with complacency on the destruction of that perfidious government which upholds its domination by blasphemy of the Most High; which displays its power over man as over the beasts of the forest; which sets man upon his brother, and lifts his hand, in the name of God, against the throat of his fellow who believes or doubts a little more or a little less than the government standard—a government which is steeled to barbarity by the cries of the orphans and the tears of the widows it has made. [Here Lord Norbury interrupted, saying that "the mean and wicked enthusiasts who felt as Emmet did were not equal to the accomplishment of their wild designs."]

I appeal to the immaculate God—I swear by the throne of Heaven, before which I must shortly appear—by the blood of the murdered patriots who have gone before me—that my conduct has been, through all this peril, and through all my purposes, governed only by the conviction which I have uttered, and by no other view than that of the emancipation of my country from the superinhuman oppression under which she has

so long and too patiently travailed; and I confidently hope that, wild and chimerical as it may appear, there is still union and strength in Ireland to accomplish this noblest of enterprises. Of this I speak with the confidence of intimate knowledge, and with the consolation that appertains to that confidence. Think not, my lords, I say this for the petty gratification of giving a transitory uneasiness. A man who never yet raised his voice to assert a lie will not hazard his character with posterity by asserting a falsehood on a subject so important to his country, and on an occasion like this. Yes, my lords, a man who does not wish to have his epitaph written until his country is liberated will not leave a weapon in the power of envy, or a pretense to impeach the probity which he means to preserve, even in the grave to which tyranny consigns him. [Here he was again interrupted by the court.]

Again I say, that what I have spoken was not intended for your lordship, whose situation I commiserate rather than envy —my expressions were for my countrymen. If there is a true Irishman present, let my last words cheer him in the hour of his affliction. [Here he was again interrupted. Lord Norbury said he did not sit there to hear treason.]

I have always understood it to be the duty of a judge, when a prisoner has been convicted, to pronounce the sentence of the law. I have also understood that judges sometimes think it their duty to hear with patience and to speak with humanity; to exhort the victim of the laws, and to offer, with tender benignity, their opinions of the motives by which he was actuated in the crime of which he was adjudged guilty. That a judge has thought it his duty so to have done, I have no doubt; but where is the boasted freedom of your institutions—where is the vaunted impartiality, clemency, and mildness of your courts of justice, if an unfortunate prisoner, whom your policy, and not justice, is about to deliver into the hands of the executioner, is not suffered to explain his motives sincerely and truly, and to vindicate the principles by which he was actuated? My lords, it may be a part of the system of angry justice to bow a man's mind by humiliation to the purposed ignominy of the scaffold; but worse to me than the purposed shame or the scaffold's terrors would be the shame of such foul and unfounded imputations as have been laid against me in this court. You,

my lord, are a judge; I am the supposed culprit. I am a man; you are a man also. By a revolution of power we might change places, though we never could change characters. If I stand at the bar of this court and dare not vindicate my character, what a farce is your justice! If I stand at this bar and dare not vindicate my character, how dare you calumniate it? Does the sentence of death, which your unhallowed policy inflicts on my body, condemn my tongue to silence and my reputation to reproach? Your executioner may abridge the period of my existence; but while I exist, I shall not forbear to vindicate my character and motives from your aspersions; and, as a man, to whom fame is dearer than life, I will make the last use of that life in doing justice to that reputation which is to live after me, and which is the only legacy I can leave to those I honor and love, and for whom I am proud to perish. As men, my lords, we must appear on the great day at one common tribunal; and it will then remain for the Searcher of All Hearts to show a collective universe who was engaged in the most virtuous actions, or swayed by the purest motive—my country's oppressors or—[Here he was interrupted and told to listen to the sentence of the law.]

My lords, will a dying man be denied the legal privilege of exculpating himself in the eyes of the community from an undeserved reproach, thrown upon him during his trial, by charging him with ambition, and attempting to cast away for a paltry consideration the liberties of his country? Why did your lordships insult me? Or rather why insult justice, in demanding of me why sentence of death should not be pronounced against me? I know, my lords, that form prescribes that you should ask the question. The form also presents the right of answering. This, no doubt, may be dispensed with, and so might the whole ceremony of the trial, since sentence was already pronounced at the castle before the jury were empaneled. Your lordships are but the priests of the oracle, and I insist on the whole of the forms.

I am charged with being an emissary of France. An emissary of France! and for what end? It is alleged that I wish to sell the independence of my country; and for what end? Was this the object of my ambition? And is this the mode

by which a tribunal of justice reconciles contradiction? No; I am no emissary, and my ambition was to hold a place among the deliverers of my country, not in power nor in profit, but in the glory of achievement. Sell my country's independence to France! and for what? Was it a change of masters? No, but for ambition. O my country! was it personal ambition that could influence me? Had it been the soul of my actions, could I not by my education and fortune, by the rank and consideration of my family, have placed myself amongst the proudest of your oppressors? My country was my idol! To it I sacrificed every selfish, every endearing sentiment; and for it I now offer up myself, O God! No, my lords; I acted as an Irishman, determined on delivering my country from the yoke of a foreign and unrelenting tyranny, and the more galling yoke of a domestic faction, which is its joint partner and perpetrator in the patricide, from the ignominy existing with an exterior of splendor and a conscious depravity. It was the wish of my heart to extricate my country from this doubly riveted despotism—I wished to place her independence beyond the reach of any power on earth. I wished to exalt her to that proud station in the world. Connection with France was, indeed, intended, but only as far as mutual interest would sanction or require. Were the French to assume any authority inconsistent with the purest independence, it would be the signal for their destruction. We sought their aid—and we sought it as we had assurance we should obtain it—as auxiliaries in war, and allies in peace. Were the French to come as invaders or enemies, uninvited by the wishes of the people, I should oppose them to the utmost of my strength. Yes! my countrymen, I should advise you to meet them upon the beach with a sword in one hand and a torch in the other. I would meet them with all the destructive fury of war. I would animate my countrymen to immolate them in their boats, before they had contaminated the soil of my country. If they succeeded in landing, and if forced to retire before superior discipline, I would dispute every inch of ground, burn every blade of grass, and the last entrenchment of liberty should be my grave. What I could not do myself, if I should fall, I should leave as a last charge to my countrymen to accomplish; because I should

feel conscious that life, any more than death, is unprofitable when a foreign nation holds my country in subjection. But it was not as an enemy that the succors of France were to land. I looked, indeed, for the assistance of France; but I wished to prove to France and to the world that Irishmen deserved to be assisted; that they were indignant at slavery, and ready to assert the independence and liberty of their country. I wished to procure for my country the guarantee which Washington procured for America; to procure an aid which, by its example, would be as important as its valor; disciplined, gallant, pregnant with science and experience; that of a people who would perceive the good, and polish the rough points of our character. They would come to us as strangers, and leave us as friends, after sharing in our perils and elevating our destiny. These were my objects: not to receive new taskmasters, but to expel old tyrants. It was for these ends I sought aid from France; because France, even as an enemy, could not be more implacable than the enemy already in the bosom of my country. [Here he was interrupted by the court.]

I have been charged with that importance in the emancipation of my country as to be considered the keystone of the combination of Irishmen; or as your lordship expressed it, "the life and blood of the conspiracy." You do me honor overmuch; you have given to the subaltern all the credit of a superior. There are men engaged in this conspiracy who are not only superior to me, but even to your own conceptions of yourself, my lord—men before the splendor of whose genius and virtues I should bow with respectful deference, and who would think themselves disgraced by shaking your blood-stained hand.

What, my lord, shall you tell me, on the passage to the scaffold, which that tyranny (of which you are only the intermediary executioner) has erected for my murder, that I am accountable for all the blood that has been and will be shed in this struggle of the oppressed against the oppressor —shall you tell me this, and must I be so very a slave as not to repel it? I do not fear to approach the Omnipotent Judge to answer for the conduct of my whole life; and am I to be appalled and falsified by a mere remnant of mortality here? By you, too, although if it were possible to collect all

the innocent blood that you have shed in your unhallowed ministry in one great reservoir, your lordship might swim in it. [Here the judge interrupted.]

Let no man dare, when I am dead, to charge me with dishonor; let no man attaint my memory, by believing that I could have engaged in any cause but that of my country's liberty and independence; or that I could have become the pliant minion of power, in the oppression and misery of my country. The proclamation of the provisional government speaks for our views; no inference can be tortured from it to countenance barbarity or debasement at home, or subjection, humiliation, or treachery from abroad. I would not have submitted to a foreign oppressor, for the same reason that I would resist the foreign and domestic oppressor. In the dignity of freedom, I would have fought upon the threshold of my country, and its enemy should enter only by passing over my lifeless corpse. And am I, who lived but for my country, and who have subjected myself to the dangers of the jealous and watchful oppressor, and the bondage of the grave, only to give my countrymen their rights, and my country her independence—am I to be loaded with calumny, and not suffered to resent it? No; God forbid! [Here Lord Norbury told Mr. Emmet that his sentiments and language disgraced his family and his education, but more particularly his father, Doctor Emmet, who was a man, if alive, that would not countenance such opinions. To which Emmet replied:]

If the spirits of the illustrious dead participate in the concerns and cares of those who were dear to them in this transitory life, O ever dear and venerated shade of my departed father! look down with scrutiny upon the conduct of your suffering son, and see if I have, even for a moment, deviated from those principles of morality and patriotism which it was your care to instill into my youthful mind, and for which I am now about to offer up my life. My lords, you are impatient for the sacrifice. The blood which you seek is not congealed by the artificial terrors which surround your victim—it circulates warmly and unruffled through the channels which God created for noble purposes, but which you are now bent to destroy for purposes so grievous that they cry to heaven. Be yet patient! I have but a few more words to say—I am

going to my cold and silent grave—my lamp of life is nearly extinguished—my race is run—the grave opens to receive me, and I sink into its bosom. I have but one request to ask at my departure from this world: it is—the charity of its silence. Let no man write my epitaph; for, as no man who knows my motives dares now vindicate them, let not prejudice or ignorance asperse them. Let them and me rest in obscurity and peace, and my tomb remain uninscribed, and my memory in oblivion, until other times and other men can do justice to my character. When my country takes her place among the nations of the earth, then, and not till then, let my epitaph be written. I have done.

GEORGE CANNING

THE FALL OF BONAPARTE

[George Canning, a famous British statesman and orator, was born in London in 1770. He took his degree at Oxford and entered the House of Commons in 1794 under the auspices of Pitt. His abilities won him important posts under the Pitt and Portland ministries, and his eloquence supported the cause of Catholic Emancipation, but his most far-reaching influence was exerted in behalf of South America. He intervened with happy results between Portugal and Brazil, recognized on behalf of Great Britain the independence of the several South American republics, and, in his own famous phrase, "called the new world into existence to redress the balance of the old." The political principle thus embodied took subsequent shape in the Monroe Doctrine. Canning also prepared the way for the repeal of the corn laws, and was a friend of the Greek cause. He died in 1827. The brilliant speech the conclusion of which is here given was an expression of the triumph felt by the British people at Napoleon's downfall, and was delivered at Liverpool, 1814.]

GENTLEMEN, there is another argument, more peculiarly relating to our own country, which has at times been interposed to discourage the prosecution of the war.

That this country is sufficient to its own defense, sufficient to its own happiness, sufficient to its own independence, and that the complicated combinations of continental policy are always hazardous to our interests, as well as burdensome to our means, has been, at several periods of the war, a favorite doctrine, not only with those who, for other reasons, wished to embarrass the measures of the government, but with men of the most enlightened minds, of the most benevolent views, and the most ardent zeal for the interests as well as the honor of their country. May we not flatter ourselves that upon this point, also, experience has decided in favor of the course of policy which has been actually pursued?

Can any man now look back upon the trial which we have gone through, and maintain that, at any period during the

last twenty years, the plan of insulated policy could have been adopted, without having in the event, at this day, prostrated England at the foot of a conqueror? Great, indeed, has been the call upon our exertions; great, indeed, has been the drain upon our resources; long and wearisome has the struggle been; and late is the moment at which peace is brought within our reach. But even though the difficulties of the contest may have been enhanced, and its duration protracted by it, yet is there any man who seriously doubts whether the having associated our destinies with the destinies of other nations be or be not that which, under the blessing of Providence, has eventually secured the safety of all?

It is at the moment when such a trial has come to its issue, that it is fair to ask of those who have suffered under the pressure of protracted exertion (and of whom rather than of those who are assembled around me—for by whom have such privations been felt more sensibly?)—it is now, I say, the time to ask whether, at any former period of the contest, such a peace could have been made as would at once have guarded the national interests and corresponded with the national character. I address myself now to such persons only as think the character of a nation an essential part of its strength, and consequently of its safety. But if, among persons of that description, there be one who, with all his zeal for the glory of his country, has yet at times been willing to abandon the contest in mere weariness and despair, of such a man I would ask, whether he can indicate the period at which he now wishes such an abandonment had been consented to by the Government and the Parliament of Great Britain.

Is it when the continent was at peace—when, looking upon the map of Europe, you saw one mighty and connected system, one great luminary, with his attendant satellites circulating around him; at that period could this country have made peace, and have remained at peace for a twelvemonth? What is the answer? Why, that the experiment was tried. The result was the renewal of the war.

Was it at a later period, when the continental system had been established? When two-thirds of the ports of Europe were shut against you? When but a single link was wanting to bind the continent in a circling chain of iron, which should

exclude you from intercourse with other nations? At that moment peace was most earnestly recommended to you. At that moment, gentlemen, I first came among you. At that moment I ventured to recommend to you perseverance, patient perseverance; and to express a hope that, by the mere strain of an unnatural effort, the massive bonds imposed upon the nations of the continent might, at no distant period, burst asunder. I was heard by you with indulgence—I know not whether with conviction. But is it now to be regretted that we did not at that moment yield to the pressure of our wants or of our fears? What has been the issue? The continental system was completed, with the sole exception of Russia, in the year 1812. In that year the pressure upon this country was undoubtedly painful. Had we yielded, the system would have been immortal. We persevered, and, before the conclusion of another year, the system was at an end: at an end, as all schemes of violence naturally terminate, not by a mild and gradual decay, such as waits upon a regular and well-spent life, but by sudden dissolution; at an end, like the breaking up of a winter's frost. But yesterday the whole continent, like a mighty plain covered with one mass of ice, presented to the view a drear expanse of barren uniformity; to-day, the breath of heaven unbinds the earth, the streams begin to flow again, and the intercourse of human kind revives.

Can we regret that we did not, like the fainting traveler, lie down to rest—but, indeed, to perish—under the severity of that inclement season? Did we not more wisely to bear up, and to wait the change?

Gentlemen, I have said that I should be ashamed, and in truth I should be so, to address you in the language of exultation, if it were merely for the indulgence, however legitimate, of an exuberant and ungovernable joy. But they who have suffered great privations have a claim not merely to consolation, but to something more. They are justly to be compensated for what they have undergone, or lost, or hazarded, by the contemplation of what they have gained.

We have gained, then, a rank and authority in Europe, such as, for the life of the longest liver of those who now hear me, must place this country upon an eminence which no prob-

able reverses can shake. We have gained, or rather we have recovered, a splendor of military glory, which places us by the side of the greatest military nations in the world. At the beginning of this war, while there was not a British bosom that did not beat with rapture at the exploits of our navy, there were few who would not have been contented to compromise for that reputation alone; to claim the sea as exclusively our province, and to leave to France and the other continental powers the struggle for superiority by land. That fabled deity, whom I see portrayed upon the wall,[1] was considered as the exclusive patron of British prowess in battle: but in seeming accordance with the beautiful fiction of ancient mythology, our Neptune, in the heat of contest, smote the earth with his trident, and up sprang the fiery war horse, the emblem of military power.

Let Portugal, now led to the pursuit of her flying conquerors—let liberated Spain—let France, invaded in her turn by those whom she had overrun or menaced with invasion, attest the triumphs of the army of Great Britain, and the equality of her military with her naval fame. And let those who, even after the triumphs of the Peninsula had begun, while they admitted that we had, indeed, wounded the giant in the heel, still deemed the rest of his huge frame invulnerable—let them now behold him reeling under the blows of united nations, and acknowledge at once the might of British arms and the force of British example.

I do not say that these are considerations with a view to which the war, if otherwise terminable, ought to have been purposely protracted; but I say that, upon the retrospect, we have good reason to rejoice that the war was not closed ingloriously and insecurely, when the latter events of it have been such as have established our security by our glory.

I say we have reason to rejoice that, during the period when the continent was prostrate before France—that, especially during the period when the continental system was in force, we did not shrink from the struggle; that we did not make peace for present and momentary ease, unmindful

[1] A figure of Neptune.

of the permanent safety and greatness of this country; that we did not leave unsolved the momentous questions, whether this country could maintain itself against France, unaided and alone; or with the continent divided; or with the continent combined against it; whether, when the wrath of the tyrant of the European world was kindled against us with sevenfold fury, we could or could not walk unharmed and unfettered through the flames.

I say we have reason to rejoice that, throughout this more than *Punic* war, in which it has so often been the pride of our enemy to represent herself as the Rome, and England as the Carthage of modern times (with at least this color for the comparison, that the utter destruction of the modern Carthage has uniformly been proclaimed to be indispensable to the greatness of her rival), we have, I say, reason to rejoice that, unlike our assigned prototype, we have not been diverted by internal dissensions from the vigorous support of a vital struggle; that we have not suffered distress nor clamor to distract our counsels, or to check the exertions of our arms.

Gentlemen, for twenty years that I have sat in Parliament, I have been an advocate of the war. You knew this when you did me the honor to choose me as your representative. I then told you that I was the advocate of the war, because I was a lover of peace; but of a peace that should be the fruit of honorable exertion—a peace that should have a character of dignity—a peace that should be worth preserving, and should be likely to endure. I confess I was not sanguine enough, at that time, to hope that I should so soon have an opportunity of justifying my professions. But I know not why, six weeks hence, such a peace should not be made as England may not only be glad, but proud to ratify. Not such a peace, gentlemen, as that of Amiens—a short and feverish interval of unrefreshing repose. During that peace, which of you went or sent a son to Paris, who did not feel or learn that an Englishman appeared in France shorn of the dignity of his country; with the mien of a suppliant, and the conscious prostration of a man who had consented to purchase his gain or his ease by submission? But let a peace be made to-morrow, such as the allies have now the power to dictate, and the meanest of the subjects of this kingdom shall not walk

the streets of Paris without being pointed out as the compatriot of Wellington; as one of that nation whose firmness and perseverance have humbled France and rescued Europe.

Is there any man that has a heart in his bosom who does not find, in the contemplation of this contrast alone, a recompense for the struggles and the sufferings of years?

But, gentlemen, the doing right is not only the most honorable course of action—it is also the most profitable in its results. At any former period of the war, the independence of almost all the other countries, our allies, would have been to be purchased with sacrifices profusely poured out from the lap of British victory. Not a throne to be reëstablished, not a province to be evacuated, not a garrison to be withdrawn, but this country would have had to make compensation out of her conquests for the concessions obtained from the enemy. Now, happily, this work is already done, either by our efforts or to our hands. The Peninsula free—the lawful commonwealth of European states already, in a great measure, restored, Great Britain may now appear in the congress of the world, rich in conquests, nobly and rightfully won, with little claim upon her faith or her justice, whatever may be the spontaneous impulse of her generosity or her moderation.

Such, gentlemen, is the situation and prospect of affairs at the moment at which I have the honor to address you. That you, gentlemen, may have your full share in the prosperity of your country is my sincere and earnest wish. The courage with which you bore up in adverse circumstances eminently entitles you to this reward.

For myself, gentlemen, while I rejoice in your returning prosperity, I rejoice also that our connection began under auspices so much less favorable; that we had an opportunity of knowing each other's minds in times when the minds of men are brought to the proof—times of trial and difficulty. I had the satisfaction of avowing to you, and you the candor and magnanimity to approve, the principles and opinions by which my public conduct has uniformly been guided, at a period when the soundness of those opinions and the application of those principles was matter of doubt and controversy. I thought, and I said, at the time of our first meeting, that the cause of England and of civilized Europe must be ul-

timately triumphant, if we but preserved our spirit untainted and our constancy unshaken. Such an assertion was, at that time, the object of ridicule with many persons: a single year has elapsed, and it is now the voice of the whole world.

Gentlemen, we may, therefore, confidently indulge the hope that our opinions will continue in unison; that our concurrence will be as cordial as it has hitherto been, if unhappily any new occasion of difficulty or embarrassment should hereafter arise.

At the present moment, I am sure, we are equally desirous to bury the recollection of all our differences with others in that general feeling of exultation in which all opinions happily combine.

MIRABEAU

AGAINST THE CHARGE OF TREASON

[Honoré Gabriel Victor Riquetti, Comte de Mirabeau, an illustrious French orator and statesman, was born near Nemours in 1749. He was destined to a military career, but his unrestrained mode of life, combined with an inability to keep on good terms with his father, brought on him many personal embarrassments, as a result of which he spent some time in prison. Like Danton, he was pitted with smallpox, and he further resembled that revolutionist in being monstrously ugly. His entrance into political life is the most striking event in the early life of the French Revolution. His great opportunity came when the king sent his orders to the states-general that they must maintain the class distinctions which separated them into three bodies. Mirabeau answered in terms of defiance. From that moment he was the head and front of the revolutionary movement. He was, nevertheless, subsequently accused by his opponents of an intention to sell himself to royalty for power. But he overcame all opposition by the sheer eloquence of his speeches, and seemed in a fair way to realize his ambitions, when he broke down from overwork and dissipation. His illness terminated fatally in April, 1791. When he was accused of treason toward the revolutionists, he made the following spirited speech in his own defense, before the National Assembly, in 1789.]

It is not for the purpose of offering a defense of myself that I ascend this tribune. Although the object of absurd assertions, none of them proved—though they would establish nothing against me if they were—I do not consider myself as lying under a formal charge; for, if I believed that any one in his senses—excepting the insignificant number of enemies whose insults I regard as a compliment—could believe me justly liable to an accusation, I would not defend myself before this Assembly. I am anxious to be put on trial; but your jurisdiction can only decide whether I ought, or ought not, to be put on trial, and there remains, therefore, but one claim that I can make upon justice, and but one favor that I can ask of your good-will, and that is, a bar before which I may be summoned.

But I cannot doubt what you think about the matter; if I present myself here, it is merely in the fear of missing an opportunity of seriously throwing light upon those proceedings of mine which my profound contempt for slander, and my disregard—perhaps my reckless disregard—for the rumors of calumny, have never permitted me to criticise outside of this Assembly. They have, nevertheless, been credited by the malicious, and might possibly bring some suspicions of partiality upon those who believe I ought to be exonerated. That which I have disdained to do, when my own reputation only was imperiled, I feel myself bound to scrutinize closely when I am assailed in the bosom of the National Assembly, and in my capacity as one of its members.

The things which I am about to divulge, simple as they will doubtless appear, since my witnesses are present in this Assembly, and the refutations with which I shall meet a series of too familiar plots, present, however, I must say, difficulties which I find it difficult to overcome. This difficulty does not lie in the repression of the just resentment which has oppressed my heart for a year, and which I am at last compelled to reveal. In this affair contempt is leagued with hatred, whose edge, however, it dulls, and which it at last kills; and where is the soul so debased as not to find a real pleasure in an opportunity of forgiving?

The pain with which I allude to the storms of a just revolution is mitigated by the thought that, if the throne has committed wrongs which we are asked to excuse, the nation which with clemency accords it nurtures conspiracies which plead to be forgiven; for, inasmuch as the king entered the Assembly for the acquiescing in our stormy revolution, has not this magnanimous condescension, by obliterating forever the regrettable impression made at the instance of corrupt counselors by the first citizen of the empire, been equally successful in effacing the still falser impression which the enemies of the public weal willingly received from these popular movements, and which the procedure of the Court of Châtelet seems to assume as its first object to revive?

No, the real difficulty in the affair is found in the history of the procedure itself. It is a singularly odious history. The annals of crime present few examples of a wickedness so

impudent, and at the same time distinguished for incompetence. Time will show this, but the disgusting secret cannot to-day be brought to light without resulting in serious complications. Those who have set on foot the procedure in the Court of the Châtelet have contrived with infernal malice that, even if they failed of success, they would find in the very patriotism of those whom they wished to destroy a guaranty of their own immunity. They perceived that the public spirit of the man they conspired against would either turn to his own destruction or prove the salvation of the conspirator. It is very hard thus to allow to men, as the result of their machinations, even a part of the result on which they had calculated. But our country demands this sacrifice, and certainly she has a right to demand even a greater one than this.

I will not, therefore, speak to you about any matters but those which are purely personal to myself; I will separate these from all extraneous matter; I renounce all intention of throwing light upon them, excepting as distinct and separate incidents; I renounce all idea, at least for to-day, of examining the contradictions and the caprices which distinguish the procedure, all its incidents, all its subterfuges, all its digressions and its reticences; the fears which it has excited in the friends and the overwhelming hopes which it has aroused in the foes of liberty; its hidden purpose and its palpable tendency; its present and its future; the alarm with which it sought to inspire the throne, and the recognition which it has thus perhaps thought to obtain from the head of the government. I will not examine the manner in which the investigation was conducted, the speeches, the silence, the gestures, the composure of each actor in this great and tragic scene; I will simply content myself with discussing the three principal charges which have been brought against me, and with solving an enigma whose secret your committee has thought it their duty to preserve, but which it concerns my honor that I should divulge.

If I were compelled to treat the trial as a whole, when, as a matter of fact, it is sufficient for me to tear off some remnants from it; if I were bound to undergo a huge amount of labor in order to effect an easy defense; I should, first of all, establish the fact that, since an accusation of complicity

did not relate to the violence which had been committed by an individual, but to the cause of that violence, my accusers would be bound to prove that there existed some arch-conspirator in this affair; that the arch-conspirator was the person against whom the indictment is mainly directed, and that I was his accomplice. But as this line of accusation has not been followed, I am not obliged to take such a line of defense. It will suffice if I investigate the character of the witnesses; the complexion of the charges which they lay against me; and I shall sum up the matter by discussing three principal points, since the three-fold malignity of accusers, witnesses, and judges has not been able to put forth or to vamp up anything beyond these.

I am charged with rushing, saber in hand, through the ranks of the Flanders regiment; that is to say, I am charged with an absurdity. The witnesses would have rendered this incident so much more piquant if they had added that, born a patrician and yet representing in the Assembly those who are called the third estate, I have always made it a religious duty to wear the dress which reminds me of the honor of my election. Now the spectacle of a deputy in a black coat, a round hat, a cravat and a cape, at five o'clock in the evening carrying a naked saber in his hand through the ranks of a regiment is fit subject for a caricature. Yet I have noticed that a man can easily render himself ridiculous without ceasing to be harmless. I aver that the act of brandishing a saber is not necessarily a crime as heinous as treason against the king or against the people. So that, after weighing everything and examining everything, the deposition of M. Valfond has nothing in it really serious excepting for M. Gamache, who is discovered to be legally and definitely suspected of being very ugly, since he resembles me.

But here is a proof more positive than that which M. Valfond has furnished; at least it will appear so to the low-minded. There is a friend of mine in this Assembly whom, in spite of his well-known intimacy with me, no one will ever dare to tax with disloyalty or mendacity. I refer to M. La Marck. I passed the whole afternoon of October 5th at his house. We were alone; our eyes were fixed upon some maps on which we were tracing certain military positions, then of

particular interest to the Belgic provinces. This occupation, which absorbed La Marck's whole attention and attracted mine also, kept us busy up to the moment when he took me to the National Assembly, from which he returned with me to my house.

But on that evening an extraordinary thing took place, for which M. La Marck can vouch. It was this. After about three minutes' discussion of the event of the hour, the siege of Versailles by the formidable Amazons, of whom the Court of the Châtelet speaks, and after talking of the mournful probability that corrupt counsellors would force the king to retire to Metz, I said to La Marck, "The dynasty is ruined unless his Majesty stays where he is and takes the reins of government." We then devised means by which to obtain at once an audience of the prince in case the departure of the king should take place. This is the way in which I began to play my part as accomplice, and prepared myself to make the Duke of Orléans lieutenant-general of the kingdom. You will perhaps find these details more probable and more authentic than those concerning my Charles XII costume.

I am charged with having said to M. Mounier, "But who told you that we did not want a king? After all, what difference does it make whether he be Louis XVI or Louis XVII?"

Here let me observe that the presiding magistrate, whose partiality in favor of the accused you have heard denounced, is nevertheless far from being, I do not say, prejudiced, in favor of me, but even fair-minded and unbiased toward me. It is only because M. Mounier does not confirm, in his deposition, this alleged remark of mine that the presiding magistrate hurries over it. "I shuddered," said the latter, "I shuddered as I read it, and I said to myself, 'If this conversation took place, there must have been a plot and some one is to blame for it'; happily, M. Mounier does not mention it."

Well, gentlemen, with all the esteem which I have for M. Chabroud and his management of the investigation, I maintain that on this point his reasoning is bad. The remark, which I declare I do not remember making, is one that any citizen might be proud of, and not only is it justifiable at the moment to which it is referred, it is good in itself, it is praiseworthy;

and, if the presiding magistrate had scrutinized it with his usual sagacity, he would have had no need, in order to extenuate an alleged crime, to convince himself that it was imaginary. Suppose an extreme royalist, such as M. Mounier, conversing with a moderate royalist and rejecting all idea that the monarch could be in danger amongst a nation which professes, in some way or other, to sustain a monarchical government, would you find it strange that the friend of the throne and of liberty, seeing the horizon grow dark and discerning more clearly than the enthusiast could the tendency of opinion, the rapid development of events, the dangers of an insurrection, and, wishing to snatch his too conciliatory fellow citizen from the perils of a false security, should say, "Come now, who has told you that France is not monarchist? Who maintains that France neither needs nor desires a king? But Louis XVII will be king like Louis XVI, and if any one succeeds in persuading the nation that Louis XVI favors and aids the excesses which have wearied the nation, the nation will call for a Louis XVII." Suppose the zealot of liberty had given his opinion, with more or less energy in proportion as he knew whom he was speaking to, and the circumstances in which his words would be most efficacious, would you see in him a conspirator, a bad citizen, or even a bad reasoner?

His suggestion would be very obvious; it would take a form of expression in accordance with the persons and circumstances of the moment. You will at least admit that a conversation never proves anything by itself, that it takes all its character, all its force from what preceded it and suggested it—from the circumstances of the moment, from the kind of men who held it; in one word, from a crowd of evanescent influences which must be distinctly described before it can be appreciated and any conclusion deduced from it.

While I am speaking of M. Mounier I will explain another incident which, in the account he himself has given, has been misrepresented to his disadvantage.

He was presiding in the National Assembly on October 5th, and on that occasion the acceptance of the Declaration of Rights, entire or with modifications, was the subject of discussion. We are told that when I went up to him I begged him to pretend that he was ill, and on this frivolous pretext to ad-

journ the session. Of course I was ignorant then of the fact that the indisposition of a president merely causes his predecessor to be recalled to the chair. I was unaware that no one has the power to arrest at pleasure the course of your most important debates.

This is the incident exactly and simply as it happened. I was informed on the morning of October 5th that popular excitement in Paris was rising higher and higher. It was not necessary for me to know the details to be convinced of this; one portent which never fails of fulfillment was to me sufficient indication, and that was the logic of events. I approached M. Mounier, and I said to him, "Mounier, Paris is on the march against us."

"I know nothing of it," he replied.

"It makes no difference whether you believe me or not," was my answer; "all Paris is arrayed against us. Face the situation; go up to the castle, warn them; tell them, if you like, that you have it from me—I shall make no objection, but put an end to this scandalous discussion; time presses—there's not a moment to lose."

"Paris is arrayed against us," repeated Mounier. "So much the better, then: we shall be a republic all the sooner for that."

If the spirit of opposition and rage which actuated Mounier be remembered; if it be remembered he saw in me the firebrand of Paris; his answer, which has more character in it than the poor runaway has since then shown, will be found to have done him honor. I never saw him again excepting in the National Assembly, from which he fled, as well as from the kingdom, a few days subsequently. I have never spoken to him since, and I do not know who told him that I wrote a note to him at three o'clock in the morning of October 6th, asking him to adjourn the session; I have not the slightest recollection of doing so; nothing, on the other hand, would have been more idle or futile.

I come to the third charge made against me, and it is in dealing with this point that I promised to give you the solution of an enigma. We are told that I advised the Duke of Orléans not to start for England. Now, what can be inferred from this? I claim the honor not, indeed, of having given this ad-

vice myself, for I never mentioned the subject to him, but of having prompted some one else to give it. I understand from common report that after a conversation between the Duke of Orléans and Lafayette—carried on by the one in a highly imperious tone, by the other with complete submissiveness—the former accepted the order to start for England. At the same moment the consequences of such a step flashed across my mind. The friends of liberty disquieted, the causes that produced the Revolution obscured, pretexts for dissatisfaction multiplied, the king still more estranged from his people, new seeds of distrust scattered broadcast within and without the kingdom—such are the effects which this precipitate flight, this condemnation without arraignment, was bound to produce. By this step, moreover, the man to whom any turn in events was likely to give a new dictatorship, was left without a rival; the man who, at that very moment, was posting in the very bosom of liberty a body of police more active than that of the old régime; the man who, by means of this police, had gathered matter for accusations, without accusing any one; the man who, in passing on the Duke of Orléans the sentence of exile, instead of having him tried and condemned if he were culpable, by this single act openly defied the inviolability of members belonging to the Assembly. I made up my mind in an instant. I said to M. Biron, with whom I had never had any political relations, but whom I had always highly esteemed, and from whom I had several times accepted friendly services: "The Duke of Orléans has shown poor judgment in quitting the post which his constituents confided to him; if he obeys the mandate, I shall denounce his departure, throw obstacles in its way; if he remains, and makes known the invisible hand which strives to remove him, I shall denounce an authority which usurps the prerogative of the laws; let him choose between these alternatives." M. Biron answered with an expression of generous feeling, and I await the result.

The Duke of Orléans, informed of my resolution, promised to follow my advice, but two days afterward I received in the assembly a letter from M. Biron, and not from the Duke of Orléans, as is stated in my indictment. This letter was wrapped in mourning crape, and announced the departure of the prince. But, while private friendship must confine itself to

sentiments of grief, it was permitted to a public man to feel indignation. An attack of spleen, or rather of patriotic anger, made me immediately form a plan which the presiding magistrate, in order to obtain evidence for punishing an indiscretion, should have made known. People may consider it insolent if they choose; but every one must at least admit, since there is no evidence of coöperation, that all idea of complicity with a conspiracy is excluded by my scheme. It related altogether to him whose conduct had so far appeared to me to be above reproach, but whose departure was in my eyes more than a mistake. This is the explanation of the whole matter, and M. de Lafayette is able to confirm all details of it for they are perfectly well known to him. If any one shall now dare, I do not say to accuse me of crime, but to refuse me his acquittal —if any one shall dare to assert that the advice I gave was not dictated by duty, advantageous to the public cause, and calculated to do me honor, let him rise and accuse me. My opinion about this may be to him a matter of indifference, but I declare that it is impossible for me to help feeling toward him the most profound contempt.

Thus disappear these abominable aspersions, these reckless slanders which classed among dangerous conspirators, among the most execrable criminals, a man who feels that he has always sought to serve his country, and that he has not always failed in serving it. Thus vanishes the mystery so tardily made plain, the mystery which a tribunal just on the point of closing its career had unveiled to you with so much confidence and self-satisfaction. What need is there that I should now discuss, or express my contempt for, the crowd of contradictory hearsays, of absurd fabrications, of insidious hints which the indictment still contains? What need is there that I should explain the series of confidences which M. Virieu alleges he received from me, and which he reveals with such intense loyalty? He is a strange creature, this M. Virieu, but has he always been such a fervent zealot of the present Revolution? Has he shown himself at any time so true a friend of the Constitution that a man, about whom everything has been said excepting that he was a dotard, should thus have selected him for a confidant?

I am not speaking here in order to humor popular malice, to

excite bursts of hatred, to bring about fresh divisions. No one knows better than I do that the salvation of everything, and of everybody, lies in harmony and in the destruction of all party spirit; but I cannot help adding that to set on foot infamous arraignments, to change the administration of justice into a weapon of attack which slaves would regard with loathing, is a poor way of effecting that reunion of hearts which alone is wanting for the achievement of our undertaking. I beg permission to resume my argument.

The indictment describes me as an accomplice; there is, then, no charge against me excepting that of complicity. The indictment does not describe me as an accomplice in any specific act of violence, but of a certain person alleged to be the prime mover in such an act. There is, then, no charge against me unless it be proved, first of all, that there was an arch-conspirator; unless it be proved that the charges of complicity implied that I played a secondary part to a principal part; unless it be established that my conduct has been one of the main springs of the act, the movement, the explosion, whose causes are being sought for.

Finally, the indictment does not simply describe me as the accomplice of any specific arch-conspirator, but as the accomplice of Mr. Somebody or other. There is, then, no charge against me unless it be at the same time proved that this prime mover is the chief culprit, and that the charges of which I am the object involve him, and imply a common plot springing from the same causes, and calculated to produce the same effects.

Now, of all that it would thus be indispensable to prove, nothing has been proved.

I forbear to inquire whether the events upon which the evidence is based are to be called calamities or crimes; whether these crimes are the result of conspiracy, a want of caution, or a turn of chance; whether the hypothesis of a single arch-conspirator does not render them a hundred-fold more inexplicable.

I am content to remind you that amongst the acts laid to my charge, some cannot be connected with each other excepting by the logic of tyrants or their tools, because they were committed many months either before or after the insurrection,

and others which are contemporaneous with the indictment are evidently neither causes nor effects of it, nor have they had any influence upon it, but are of such a character as quite excludes the idea of their being performed by an agent, a conspirator, or an accomplice, and unless I am supposed to be in the number of those who were culprits in will, though not in deed, and not chargeable with anything beyond that, neither exercise of influence nor incitement, my so-called complicity is a delusion.

I am content to draw your attention to the fact that the charges which are laid against me, so far from proving that I was in collusion with the arch-conspirator concerned, would imply that my relations were of an entirely opposite character; that in denouncing the "fraternal banquet" I was not the only one to style it "an orgy"; that I merely echoed two of my friends, who had adopted the expression before me; that if I had rushed through the ranks of the Flanders regiment I should have done nothing more, according to the indictment itself, than follow the example set by many members of this Assembly; that if the remark, "What does it matter whether it be Louis XVII?" was made as reported, not only did I have no thought of a change of dynasty, but my ideas, as stated in a letter to a member of this Assembly, did not even turn in the possible contingency of a regent to a brother of a king.

What, then, is the prominent part that I am supposed to have played in the events with which the indictment deals? Where are the proofs of the complicity which is thrown in my teeth? What is the crime concerning which it can possibly be said, "He is either the author or the cause of it"? But I forget that I am adopting the tone of an accused man, when in truth I ought to take that of an accuser.

What is this indictment, supported as it is by evidence which could not be gone through, whose compilation required a whole year for its completion; this indictment which the crime of high treason apparently required, and which fell into the hands of an incompetent tribunal utterly destitute of authority, excepting in the cases of treason against the nation? What sort of an indictment is this, which, threatening in the space of a single year twenty different persons, is now suspended, now resumed,

according to the interest and the views, the fears and hopes of its wire-pullers, and has never been anything else during that long period but a weapon of intrigue, a sword suspended over the head of those who are to be ruined or intimidated, cast off or won over; which, finally, after searching heaven and earth for evidence, has not reached any conclusion until one of those who were accused by it either lost faith in or learned to despise the dictatorial power that was keeping him in banishment?

What sort of an indictment is this, which is occupied with individual transgressions concerning which there is no evidence, transgressions whose remote causes are, nevertheless, to be eagerly sought for, without throwing any light upon their proximate causes? What procedure is this, which investigates events easily to be explained without any idea of a conspiracy, and yet has only conspiracy for its basis of investigation—whose first aim has been to conceal real faults, and to replace them by imaginary crimes? It has from the first been guided by vanity, its rage since then has been whetted by hatred, it has been carried by its party spirit, infatuated by its ministerial authority, and after thus being the slave of many influences in turn, it has ended in an insidious denunciation of your decrees, the king's freedom of choice, his journey to Paris, the wisdom of your deliberation, the nation's love for the monarch.

What sort of an indictment is this, which the most deadly enemies of the Revolution would not have framed in a better way, even if they had been the sole promoters of it, as they have been almost its sole executors; whose tendency has been to see ablaze the most furious party spirit, even in the bosom of this Assembly, and to raise witnesses up in opposition to judges, both throughout the whole kingdom in the provinces, by calumniating the intentions of the capital, and in each town by rendering odious the liberty which was real enough to bring in question the life of the monarch; and in all Europe, by painting the situation of a free king in false colors, as that of a king captive and persecuted; and in depicting this august Assembly as an assembly of factionists? Yes, the secret of this infernal procedure is at last discovered. It is to be found in its full completeness there. It is to be found in the interests of those whose testimony and calumny have woven its tissue; in the

weapons it has furnished to the enemies of the republic; this secret lurks, yes, it lurks in the heart of the judges, as it will soon be engraven on the page of history, by the most just and most implacable vengeance.

GEORGES JACQUES DANTON

"TO DARE AGAIN, EVER TO DARE!"

[Georges Jacques Danton, a prominent member of the Convention that carried out the great French Revolution, was born in Arcis-sur-Aube in 1759. He received a good education, with a view to entering the legal profession, and while still a very young man he began the practice of law in Paris. His energies were speedily absorbed by the distracted state of public affairs, it being happily said of him that he was a born revolutionist. The first conspicuous use he made of his gift of eloquence was to urge on the mob that stormed the Bastile. He founded the order of Cordeliers, a society of radical revolutionists. By the time the so-called Legislative Assembly had gained control of public affairs, Danton was all powerful in it. When the enemies of France were marching on Paris, and the alarm ran through the city to summon volunteers to arms, Danton delivered a magnificent tirade in the Assembly. His election as deputy from Paris to the National Convention enabled Danton to give full expression of his revolutionary views. He joined the most radical group, but even he was appalled by the horrors of the Reign of Terror, as Robespierre's system of extermination was called. Danton, in consequence, was distrusted by the irreconcilable revolutionists, who determined to be rid of him. He was seized, hurried to trial, and guillotined on April 5, 1794. Danton was a great natural orator. Of commanding presence, he was variously described as Jove the Thunderer and the Rebel Satan. His speeches were not carefully prepared but nevertheless are distinguished by their power of phrase as well as by their passionate fervor. The first of the following speeches was delivered in the National Assembly, 1792; the second, also in the Assembly, 1793; the third, at the Convention, 1793.]

It seems a satisfaction for the ministers of a free people to announce to them that their country will be saved. All are stirred, all are enthused, all burn to enter the combat.

You know that Verdun is not yet in the power of our enemies, and that its garrison swears to immolate the first who breathes a proposition of surrender.

One portion of our people will guard our frontiers, another will dig and arm the entrenchments, the third with pikes will defend the interior of our cities. Paris will second these great

efforts. The commissioners of the Commune will solemnly proclaim to the citizens the invitation to arm and march to the defense of the country. At such a moment you can proclaim that the capital deserves the esteem of all France. At such a moment this national assembly becomes a veritable committee of war. We ask that you concur with us in directing this sublime movement of the people, by naming commissioners to second and assist all these great measures. We ask that any one refusing to give personal service or to furnish arms shall meet the punishment of death. We ask that proper instructions be given to the citizens to direct their movements. We ask that carriers be sent to all the departments to notify them of the decrees that you proclaim here. The tocsin we shall sound is not the alarm signal of danger, it orders the charge on the enemies of France. [Applause.] To conquer we have need to dare, to dare again, ever to dare! And the safety of France is insured.

"LET FRANCE BE FREE!"

The general considerations that have been presented to you are true; but at this moment it is less necessary to examine the causes of the disasters that have struck us than to apply their remedy rapidly. When the edifice is on fire, I do not join the rascals who would steal the furniture; I extinguish the flames. I tell you, therefore, you should be convinced by the dispatches of Dumouriez that you have not a moment to spare in saving the republic.

Dumouriez conceived a plan which did honor to his genius. I would render him greater justice and praise than I did recently. But three months ago he announced to the executive power, your general committee of defense, that if we were not audacious enough to invade Holland in the middle of winter, to declare instantly against England the war which actually we had long been making that we would double the difficulties of our campaign, in giving our enemies the time to deploy their forces. Since we failed to recognize this stroke of his genius, we must now repair our faults.

Dumouriez is not discouraged; he is in the middle of Holland, where he will find munitions of war; to overthrow all our

enemies, he wants but Frenchmen, and France is filled with citizens. Would we be free? If we no longer desire it, let us perish, for we have all sworn it. If we wish it, let all march to defend our independence. Your enemies are making their last efforts. Pitt, recognizing he has all to lose, dares spare nothing. Take Holland, and Carthage is destroyed, and England can no longer exist but for liberty! Let Holland be conquered to liberty, and even the commercial aristocracy itself, which at the moment dominates the English people, would rise against the government which had dragged it into despotic war against a free people. They would overthrow this ministry of stupidity, who thought the methods of the *ancien régime* would smother the genius of liberty breathing in France. This ministry once overthrown in the interests of commerce, the party of liberty would show itself; for it is not dead! And if you know your duties, if your commissioners leave at once, if you extend the hand to the strangers aspiring to destroy all forms of tyranny, France is saved and the world is free.

Expedite, then, your commissioners; sustain them with your energy; let them leave this very night, this very evening.

Let them say to the opulent classes, the aristocracy of Europe must succumb to our efforts, and pay our debt, or you will have to pay it! The people have nothing but blood—they lavish it! Go, then, ingrates, and lavish your wealth. [Wild applause.] See, citizens, the fair destinies that await you. What! you have a whole nation as a lever, its reason as your fulcrum, and you have not yet upturned the world! To do this we need firmness and character; and of a truth we lack it. I put to one side all passions. They are all strangers to me save a passion for the public good.

In the most difficult situations, when the enemy was at the gates of Paris, I said to those governing: "Your discussions are shameful; I can see but the enemy. [Fresh applause.] You tire me by squabbling, in place of occupying yourselves with the safety of the republic! I repudiate you all as traitors to our country! I place you all in the same line!" I said to them: "What care I for my reputation? Let France be free, though my name were accursed!" What care I that I am called "a blood-drinker"? Well, let us drink the blood of the enemies of humanity, if needful; but let us struggle, let

us achieve freedom. Some fear the departure of the commissioners may weaken one or the other section of this convention. Vain fears! Carry your energy everywhere. The pleasantest declaration will be to announce to the people that the terrible debt weighing upon them will be wrested from their enemies or that the rich will shortly have to pay it. The national situation is cruel. The representatives of value are no longer in equilibrium in the circulation. The day of the working man is lengthened beyond necessity. A great corrective measure is necessary! Conquerers of Holland, reanimate in England the republican party; let us advance France, and we shall go glorified to posterity. Achieve these grand destinies: no more debates, no more quarrels, and the fatherland is saved.

"SQUEEZING THE SPONGE"

You have decreed "honorable mention" of what has been done for the public benefit by the Department De L'Hevault. In this decree you authorize the whole republic to adopt the same measures, for your decree ratifies all the acts which have just been brought to your knowledge.

If everywhere the same measures be taken, the republic is saved. No more shall we treat as agitators and anarchists the ardent friends of liberty who set the nation in motion, but we shall say: "Honor to the agitators who turn the vigor of the people against its enemies!" When the Temple of Liberty shall be reared, the people will know how to decorate it. Rather perish France than to return to our hard slavery. Let it not be believed we shall become barbarians after we shall have founded liberty. We shall embellish France until the despots shall envy us; but while the ship of state is in the stress of storm, beaten by the tempest, that which belongs to each belongs to all.

No longer are agrarian laws spoken of! The people are wiser than their calumniators assumed, and the people in mass have much more sense than many of those who deem themselves great men. In a people we can no more count the great men than we can count the giant trees in the vast forest. It was believed that the people wanted the agrarian

law, and this may throw suspicion on the measures adopted by the Department De L'Hevault. It will be said of them: "They taxed the rich"; but, citizens, to tax the rich is to serve them. It is rather a veritable advantage for them than any considerable sacrifice; and the greater the sacrifice the greater usufruct, for the greater is the guaranty to the foundation of property against the invasion of its enemies. It is an appeal to every man, according to his means, to save the republic. The appeal is just. What the Department De L'Hevault has done, Paris and all France will do. See what resources France will procure. Paris has a luxury and wealth which is considerable. Well, by decree, this sponge will be squeezed! And with singular satisfaction it will be found that the people will conduct their revolution at the expense of their internal enemies. These enemies themselves will learn the price of liberty and will desire to possess it, when they will recognize that it has preserved for them their possessions.

Paris in making an appeal to capitalists will furnish her contingent, which will afford means to suppress the troubles in La Vendée; for, at any sacrifice, these troubles must be suppressed. On this alone depends your external tranquillity. Already the departments of the north have informed the combined despots that your territory cannot be divided; and soon you will probably learn of the dissolution of this formidable league of kings. For in uniting against you, they have not forgotten their ancient hatreds and respective pretensions; and if the executive council had had a little more latitude, the league might be already completely dissolved.

Paris, then, must be directed against La Vendée. All the men needed in this city to form a reserve camp should be sent at once to La Vendée. These measures once taken, the rebels will disperse, and, like the Austrians, will commence to kill each other. If the flames of this civil discord be extinguished, they will ask of us peace!

ROBESPIERRE

AGAINST CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

[Maximilien Marie Isidore de Robespierre, inaugurator of the Reign of Terror which formed the climax to the first French Revolution, was born in Arras in 1758. He was trained in his father's profession of law and practiced with success, but attracted no particular attention until his election in 1789 to the States General, a body summoned by the king to deliberate upon the affairs of France. Robespierre's fanaticism began now to assert itself. The execution of the king, the overthrow of the moderate element in the Convention, and the use of the guillotine as a final argument in all political differences, were the results of his bloody policy. One by one the leading men in the city were decapitated, until Paris awoke to all the horrors of the Reign of Terror. But at first all were helpless before Robespierre, who had filled every department of the revolutionary government with his creatures. At last a conspiracy was formed against him in the Convention, he was set upon during the deliberations of that body, and thrown into prison. No time was lost in conveying him to the guillotine on July 28, 1794. Though he lacked the highest gifts of eloquence, few orators have swayed masses of men so powerfully and so disastrously. After the death of Mirabeau in 1791, he came quickly to the front as a speaker in the Assembly and in the Jacobin Club.

The three speeches that follow illustrate three stages of Robespierre's rapidly changing career. As a young man he had resigned a criminal judgeship to avoid condemning a man to death; and the first speech is one made in 1791 in the Assembly, against capital punishment. The second speech in the following year after he had been crowned "incorruptible patriot" by the people of Paris is an ardent plea for democracy. The third speech given on June 8, 1794, shows Robespierre at the summit of his power and his fanaticism. During the seven weeks that remained to him, 1285 victims perished by the guillotine in Paris.]

"THE punishment of death is necessary," say the friends of old and barbarous precedent; "without it there would be no restraint strong enough to repress crime." Who told you that? Have you calculated all the means by which penal laws may act on human sensibility? Alas, how many pangs,

physical and moral, does not a man endure, that are worse than death!

The desire to live is less powerful than pride, the most imperious of all the passions which hold mastery over the heart of man. The most terrible of all punishments, for the social man, is opprobrium, the crushing evidence of public execration. When the legislator can strike citizens at so many sensitive points and in so many ways, how can he believe himself forced as a last resort to employ the punishment of death? Punishments are not made to torment the guilty, but to prevent crime by the fear of incurring them.

The legislator who prefers death and atrocious punishments to such softer methods as are in his power, outrages public delicacy, blunts the moral sentiment of the people he governs, like an unskillful teacher who, by the frequent use of cruel chastisements, brutalizes and degrades the soul of his pupil, in that he weakens and exhausts the resources of government by stretching them with too much force.

The legislator who establishes this punishment renounces that salutary principle that the best way to repress crimes is to adapt the punishments to the nature of the different passions that produced them and to penalize these, by themselves, so to speak. Such a legislator confuses the ideas, disturbs the relations, and openly counteracts the objects of penal laws.

The punishment of death is necessary, do you say? If that be true, how is it that so many nations have been able to do without it? By what fatality were these people the wisest, happiest, and most free? If capital punishment is the best adapted to prevent great crimes, such crimes ought to be more rare among nations who have adopted and most extensively used it. Now the fact is just the contrary. Take Japan; nowhere have capital punishment and tortures been more extensively used, and nowhere have crimes been so frequent and so atrocious. One might say that the Japanese desired to vie in ferocity with the barbarous laws that outrage and irritate them. Did the republics of Greece, where punishments are so moderate, and where capital punishment was extremely rare or entirely unknown, present a record of more crimes and less virtue than the countries governed by the laws of blood? Do you believe that Rome was stained by more heinous crimes

when, in the days of her glory, the Lex Porcia had annulled the severe penalties imposed by the kings and the decemvirs than when she was under Sylla, who revived them, and under all the emperors who carried their severity to an excess in keeping with their infamous tyranny? Has Russia been overturned since the despot who governs it entirely suppressed capital punishment, as if to expiate by this act of humanity and philosophy the crime of holding millions of men under the yoke of absolute power?

Listen to the voice of justice and reason. It cries aloud to you that human judgments are never certain enough to warrant society in putting to death a man condemned by other men as fallible as the convict. Could you imagine the most perfect judicial order—could you find the most upright and enlightened judges—there would always remain a place for error or prejudice. Why do you deprive yourselves of the means of rectifying them? Why do you condemn yourselves to powerlessness to extend a helping hand to oppressed innocence? What matter these barren regrets, these vain compliments that you accord to an empty shade, to senseless ashes? They are but the sad evidences of the barbarous rashness of your penal laws. To deprive a man of the possibility of expiating his crime by repentance or by acts of virtue, to close for him pitilessly all doors of return to goodness and self-esteem, to hurry him to the grave, all covered, so to speak, with the recent stains of his crime, is, in my eyes, the most horrible refinement of cruelty.

The first duty of the legislator is to form and conserve public morals, the source of all liberty and of all social happiness. When to attain a special object he departs from this general and essential aim, he commits the most gross and ill-omened of faults. The law ought to present to the nations the purest model of justice and reason. If in place of that resistless, calm, moderate severity which ought to characterize them, they put anger and vengeance; if they cause human blood to flow which they might have spared, and which they had no right to shed; if they call up before the eyes of the people cruel scenes and the corpses of those murdered by tortures—then they confound in the minds of citizens the ideas of the just and the unjust, and cause to spring up in the bosom of society ferocious

prejudices which will produce others in their turn. Man no longer continues to be to his fellow man a sacred object. He gains a lower idea of his dignity when public authority sports with his life. The idea of murder inspires much less dismay when the law itself affords an example and a spectacle of it. The horror of crime is lessened from the moment the law merely punishes one crime by perpetrating another. Beware of confounding the efficacy of punishments with the excess of severity. The one is absolutely opposed to the other. There is everything in favor of moderate laws. There is everything against cruel laws.

It has been observed that in free countries crimes are rare, and penal laws more lenient. Ideas are predominant. Free countries are those where the rights of man are respected, and where, consequently, the laws are just. Wherever humanity is offended by an excess of harshness, it is a proof that the dignity of man is not known there; that the dignity of the citizen does not exist. It is a proof that the legislator is but a master who commands slaves, and who chastises them pitilessly according to his fancy. I conclude by moving you that the law enforcing the punishment of death be repealed.

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE

I DOUBTED for a moment whether I ought to present my ideas on provisions that you seem to have already adopted. But when I saw the question was whether I should defend the cause of the nation and of liberty by speaking, or betray it by silence, I no longer hesitated. I have even undertaken this task with a stronger confidence, in that the imperious passion for justice and the public good which imposed it upon me was felt in common with you, and it is your own principles and your own authority that I invoke in their favor.

Why are we assembled in this temple of the laws? Undoubtedly to render to the French nation the exercise of the indefeasible rights which belong to all men. Such is the end and object of each and every political constitution. It is just and free if it fulfills it. It is naught but an outrage on humanity if it opposes it.

You yourselves have recognized this truth in a striking manner when, before commencing your great work, you decided that it was necessary solemnly to proclaim those sacred rights which are the eternal foundations on which the constitution ought to rest:—

All men are born and live free and equal in rights.

The sovereignty resides essentially in the nation.

The law is the expression of the general will. All citizens have the right to join in legislation, either personally or by their representatives, freely chosen.

All citizens are admissible to all public employments, without any discrimination excepting that demanded by their virtues and their talents.

These are the principles which you have consecrated. It will now be easy to appreciate the measures that I propose to combat. It will suffice to compare them with those unalterable principles of human society.

Now, first, can the law be the expression of the general will, while the greater number of those for whom it is made cannot in any manner join in its institution? No! Nevertheless, to deny to all those who do not pay a contribution equivalent to the wages of a laborer for three days, the right even of choosing the electors who shall name the number of the Legislative Assembly—what is this but to preclude the majority of Frenchmen from any share in law-making? This proposition is essentially anti-constitutional and anti-social, is it not?

Secondly, are men equal in rights, when some enjoy exclusively the privilege of eligibility to be elected members of the legislative body or to other public bodies, and others enjoy only the privilege of nominating them, and others again are deprived of all these rights? No! Such, nevertheless, are the monstrous distinctions established between them by the decrees which make a citizen "active" or "passive," "half-active" or "half-passive," according to the degrees of fortune which permit him to pay three days' direct imposition or a mark of silver. All these provisions are therefore essentially anti-constitutional and anti-social.

Thirdly, can it be said that men are admissible to all public employments without other distinction than that of virtues and talents, when the inability to pay the required contribution ex-

cludes them from all public employments, whatsoever may be their virtues and their talents? All those provisions are therefore anti-constitutional and anti-social.

Fourthly, is the nation sovereign when the greatest number of the individuals composing it are despoiled of the political rights that constitute sovereignty? No! And nevertheless, you have just seen that those same decrees strip those rights from the great majority of Frenchmen. What would your declaration of rights amount to, if those decrees should stand? An empty formula! What would the nation be? A slave! For liberty consists in obeying laws which we ourselves have enacted, and servitude in being compelled to obey the will of others. What would your government be? A veritable aristocracy! For aristocracy is the state in which a portion of the citizens is sovereign, and the rest subject. And what an aristocracy! The most intolerable of all—an aristocracy of money.

All men born and domiciled in France are members of the political society known as the French nation; that is to say, French citizens. They are such by the nature of things, and by the first principles of the rights of man. The rights attached to this title depend neither on the fortune which each one possesses nor on the quality of the imposition or levy to which he is subjected, because it is by no means the tax which makes us citizens, citizenship obliging us only to contribute according to our ability to the common expenses of the state. Now, you can give laws to citizens, but you cannot annihilate them.

The partisans of the system I am attacking have felt this truth themselves, since, not daring to deny citizenship to those whom they condemned to political disinheritance, they have confined themselves to evading the principle of equality which it necessarily supposes by distinguishing them as "active" and "inactive" citizens. Counting on the facility with which men are governed by words, they have tried to make this change by perpetrating, under this new expression, the most manifest violation of the rights of man.

What shall I add to these patent truths? It is not necessary to add anything, for the representatives of the nation have already, by their opinions and votes, anticipated my demand.

It only remains for me to reply to those deplorable sophistries by means of which the prejudices and ambitions of a certain class of men are trying to bolster up the disastrous doctrine which I am attacking. It is to these only that I am going to speak.

The people! Folk that have nothing! The dangers of corruption! The example of England and that of peoples supposed to be free! Such are the arguments suggested against justice and reason.

I ought to answer this with but a single word: The people, this multitude of men, whose cause I am defending, have rights which have the same origin as yours. Who gave you the power to take them away?

General utility, you say. But is there anything useful but that which is just and honest? And does not the maxim apply especially to the social organization? And if the object of society is the happiness of all, and the conservation of the rights of man, what must be thought of those who would base it on the power of a few individuals, and on the debasement and belittlement of the rest of the human race? Who are these sublime politicians, who applaud themselves when, by force of laborious subtleties, they have succeeded in substituting their vain fantasies for immutable principles engraved by the Eternal Legislator Himself on the heart of all men?

You speak of England. Well, what do England and her corrupt constitution matter to you—a constitution which seemed to you to be free, when you were sunk to the last degree of servitude, but which must now cease to be extolled by ignorance or from habit? You talk of free peoples. Where are they? What does the history of those whom you honor with that name present to your eyes but aggregations of men, more or less removed from the ways of reason and nature, more or less enslaved under governments which hazard, ambition, or force had established? Is it, then, that ye may servilely copy the errors or injustices which have so long degraded and oppressed the human race that the Eternal Providence has summoned you—the only ones since the origin of the world—to reëstablish on the earth the empire of justice and liberty, amid the most brilliant burst of light that has ever

illuminated public reason, amid circumstances almost miraculously arranged to insure you the power of restoring to man his happiness, his virtue, and his pristine dignity?

Do those appreciate all the weight of this holy mission, whose sole response to our just complaints consists in coldly telling us, "With all its faults, our constitution is the best that has ever existed"?

Is it, then, with the intention that you should coolly leave in this constitution essential faults destructive of the first foundations of social order that twenty-six millions of men have placed in your hands the formidable trust of their destinies? The harm that you would do would be a crime against the nation and against humanity. Furthermore, unless you do everything for liberty, you do nothing. There are not two ways of being free. You must be entirely free or become slaves again. The least resource left to despotism will very soon reëstablish its power. What do I say! Even now it surrounds you with its seductions and its enchantments. Soon will it overwhelm you with its strength. O you who, content with attaching your names to a great change, are not disturbed whether or not it shall suffice to assure the happiness of men, do not deceive yourselves. The noise of the applause of your deeds will soon vanish. Posterity, comparing the greatness of your duties and the immensity of your resources with the essential faults of your work, will say: "They might have made men happy and free, but they would not do it. They were not worthy of it."

But, you say, the people! Persons who have nothing to lose! Do you mean to say that they, like us, shall exercise all the rights of citizens?

Persons who have nothing to lose! How unjust and false in the eyes of truth is that language of delirious pride! Now, these persons of whom you speak are, you would imply, men who live in the midst of society, with no means of existence or subsistence. For if they are provided with those means, they have, it seems to me, something to lose or to preserve. Yes, the coarse cloths that cover me; the humble lodging in which I buy the right to retire and live in peace; the modest salary on which I support my wife and children—all this, I admit, is

not lands, castles, equipages. All this may, perhaps, be called "nothing" for luxury and opulence, but it is something for humanity. It is a sacred possession—as sacred as the dazzling domains of wealth.

What would all those great men say who, in the days of yore, governed the most free and virtuous people of the earth, but who did not leave behind enough to bury them, and whose families were supported by the state? What would they say if, coming to life among us, they could see arise this so much-vaunted constitution? O Aristides, Greece named thee "the just," and made thee the arbiter of her destiny. Regenerated France would see in thee only a "man of nothing," who does not pay the mark of silver, the voting tax. In vain would the trust of the people call thee to defend its rights; there is no town that would not drive thee from its confines. Thou mightest twenty times have saved the country and thou wouldst not yet have been an "active citizen"—unless thy great soul consented to conquer the rigors of fortune at the expense of thy liberty or of some one of thy virtues.

There are certain decrees that you cannot abrogate—they are those which include the declaration of the rights of man—because you did not make those laws; you only promulgated them. It is those immutable decrees of the Eternal Legislator, implanted in the reason and in the heart of all men before you inscribed them in your code, to which I appeal against provisions injurious to them and which ought to disappear before them. You have here to choose between them, and your choice cannot be uncertain, upon your own principles. I propose to the National Assembly the plan of the following decree:—

The National Assembly, moved by a religious respect for the rights of men, the maintenance of which ought to be the object of all political institutions;

Convinced that a constitution made to assure the liberty of the French people, and to influence that of the world, ought to be above all established on this principle:

Declares that all Frenchmen—that is, all men born and domiciled in France or naturalized—ought to enjoy the plenitude and equality of the rights of citizenship, and are admissible to all public employments, without any other distinction than that of virtue and talents.

THE FESTIVAL OF THE SUPREME BEING

The day forever fortunate has arrived, which the French people have consecrated to the Supreme Being. Never has the world which He created offered to Him a spectacle so worthy of His notice. He has seen reigning on the earth tyranny, crime, and imposture. He sees at this moment a whole nation, grappling with all the oppressions of the human race, suspend the course of its heroic labors to elevate its thoughts and vows toward the great Being who has given it the mission it has undertaken and the strength to accomplish it.

Is it not He whose immortal hand, engraving on the heart of man the code of justice and equality, has written there the death sentence of tyrants? Is it not He who, from the beginning of time, decreed for all the ages and for all peoples liberty, good faith, and justice?

He did not create kings to devour the human race. He did not create priests to harness us, like vile animals, to the chariots of kings and to give to the world examples of baseness, pride, perfidy, avarice, debauchery, and falsehood. He created the universe to proclaim His power. He created men to help each other, to love each other mutually, and to attain to happiness by the way of virtue.

It is He who implanted in the breast of the triumphant oppressor remorse and terror, and in the heart of the oppressed and innocent calmness and fortitude. It is He who impels the just man to hate the evil one, and the evil man to respect the just one. It is He who adorns with modesty the brow of beauty, to make it yet more beautiful. It is He who makes the mother's heart beat with tenderness and joy. It is He who bathes with delicious tears the eyes of the son pressed to the bosom of his mother. It is He who silences the most imperious and tender passions before the sublime love of the fatherland. It is He who has covered nature with charms, riches, and majesty. All that is good is His work, or is Himself. Evil belongs to the depraved man who oppresses his fellow man or suffers him to be oppressed.

The Author of Nature has bound all mortals by a bound-

less chain of love and happiness. Perish the tyrants who have dared to break it.

Republican Frenchmen, it is yours to purify the earth which they have soiled, and to recall to it the justice that they have banished! Liberty and virtue together came from the breast of Divinity. Neither can abide with mankind without the other.

O generous People, would you triumph over all your enemies? Practice justice, and render the Divinity the only worship worthy of Him. O People, let us deliver ourselves to-day, under His auspices, to the just transports of a pure festivity. To-morrow we shall return to the combat with vice and tyrants. We shall give to the world the example of republican virtues. And that will be to honor Him still.

The monster which the genius of kings had vomited over France has gone back into nothingness. May all the crimes and all the misfortunes of the world disappear with it! Armed in turn with the daggers of fanaticism and the poisons of atheism, kings have always conspired to assassinate humanity. If they are able no longer to disfigure Divinity by superstition, to associate it with their crimes, they try to banish it from the earth, so that they may reign there alone with crime.

O people, fear no more their sacrilegious plots! They can no more snatch the world from the breast of its Author than remorse from their own hearts. Unfortunate ones, uplift your eyes toward heaven! Heroes of the fatherland, your generous devotion is not a brilliant madness. If the satellites of tyranny can assassinate you, it is not in their power entirely to destroy you. Man, whoever thou mayest be, thou canst still conceive high thoughts for thyself. Thou canst bind thy fleeting life to God, and to immortality. Let nature seize again all her splendor, and wisdom all her empire! The Supreme Being has not been annihilated.

It is wisdom above all that our guilty enemies would drive from the republic. To wisdom alone it is given to strengthen the prosperity of empires. It is for her to guarantee to us the rewards of our courage. Let us associate wisdom, then, with all our enterprises. Let us be brave and discreet in all our deliberations, as men who are providing for the interests of

the world. Let us be ardent and obstinate in our anger against conspiring tyrants, imperturbable in dangers, patient in labors, terrible in striking back, modest and vigilant in successes. Let us be generous toward the good, compassionate with the unfortunate, inexorable with the evil, just toward every one. Let us not count on an unmixed prosperity, and on triumphs without attacks, nor on all that depends on fortune or the perversity of others. Sole, but infallible guarantors of our independence, let us crush the impious league of kings by the grandeur of our character, even more than by the strength of our arms.

Frenchmen, you war against kings; you are therefore worthy to honor Divinity. Being of Beings, Author of Nature, the brutalized slave, the vile instrument of despotism, the perfidious and cruel aristocrat, outrages Thee by his very invocation of Thy name. But the defenders of liberty can give themselves up to Thee, and rest with confidence upon Thy paternal bosom. Being of Beings, we need not offer to Thee unjust prayers. Thou knowest Thy creatures, proceeding from Thy hands. Their needs do not escape Thy notice, more than their secret thoughts. Hatred of bad faith and tyranny burns in our hearts, with love of justice and the fatherland. Our blood flows for the cause of humanity. Behold our prayer. Behold our sacrifices. Behold the worship we offer Thee.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

ADDRESSES TO HIS ARMY

[Napoleon Bonaparte was born at Ajaccio, Corsica, 1769. He entered the military school at Brienne on April 23, 1779, leaving that institution for a military academy in Paris. In 1793 he was placed in command of a battalion of artillery, and for his success at Toulon was made general of brigade. Under Barras, in command of the garrison of Paris, he swept the city with grape-shot, overwhelming the Terrorists and bringing to an end the French Revolution October 5, 1794. In 1796 he married Josephine de Beauharnais, née Tasher, having been appointed on the same day to the command of the army in Italy. His campaigns in Italy were brilliantly successful, and revealed him as a military genius of the first order; but his ambitious expedition to Egypt ended in failure because of Nelson's naval victory in the Battle of the Nile.

The coup d'état, November 9, 1799, placed Napoleon in power as First Consul. During the consulate he made many reforms. He stopped the persecution of the priests, opened the churches, changed the system of internal government, framed the code, aided education, reëstablished the ecclesiastical hierarchy, instituted the Legion of Honor, and arranged the financial system of the country on a proper basis. War was renewed over Malta. Obliged to give up the invasion of England he attacked the Austrians, and on December 2, 1805, the Austro-Russian Army was defeated at Austerlitz. At Trafalgar Nelson annihilated Napoleon's fleet and ended any hope of invading England. The Peninsular war was protracted, the French were driven across the Pyrenees in 1814. After divorce from Josephine his marriage with Marie Louise took place, and the King of Rome was born March 20, 1811. The Russian invasion and defeat exhausted the army by the loss of half a million men, and prepared the way for Elba and Waterloo. The battle of Leipsic was the beginning of the end, and the few following victories did not prevent the allies from marching on Paris and taking possession of it. The emperor was forced to abdicate April 6, 1814, and was banished to Elba. After an interval of ten months, he escaped from the island of Elba, in 1815, and appealed again to France. He succeeded in driving out Louis XVIII, and again took the field against the allies. Waterloo was lost June 18, 1815, and Napoleon was held as a prisoner at St. Helena by the British until his death, May 15, 1821. His body was removed to Paris in 1840.

Some of the speeches included here were proclamations, but all

have the ring of personal address. The most famous of Napoleon's speeches is recorded as a single sentence. Thiers relates that when the army in Egypt came within sight of the Pyramids gilded by the sun, it "halted as if seized by curiosity and admiration." Napoleon galloped before the ranks and pointing to the Pyramids, exclaimed: "Soldiers, from the summits of the Pyramids, forty centuries look down upon you."]

ADDRESS TO HIS ARMY AT BEGINNING OF ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

SOLDIERS:—You are naked and ill-fed! Government owes you much and can give you nothing. The patience and courage you have shown in the midst of this rocky wilderness are admirable; but they gain you no renown; no glory results to you from your endurance. It is my design to lead you into the most fertile plains of the world. Rich provinces and great cities will be in your power; there you will find honor, glory, and wealth. Soldiers of Italy, will you be wanting in courage or perseverance?

PROCLAMATION TO HIS ARMY

SOLDIERS:—You have in fifteen days gained six victories, taken twenty-one stand of colors, fifty-five pieces of cannon, and several fortresses, and overrun the richest part of Piedmont; you have made 15,000 prisoners and killed or wounded upward of 10,000 men.

Hitherto you have been fighting for barren rocks, made memorable by your valor, though useless to your country, but your exploits now equal those of the armies of Holland and the Rhine. You were utterly destitute, and you have supplied all your wants. You have gained battles without cannon, passed rivers without bridges, performed forced marches without shoes; and bivouacked without strong liquors, and often without bread.

None but republican phalanxes, the soldiers of liberty, could have endured what you have done; thanks to you, soldiers, for your perseverance! Your grateful country owes its safety to you; and if the taking of Toulon was an earnest of the immortal campaign of 1794, your present victories foretell one more glorious.

The two armies which lately attacked you in full confidence now flee before you in consternation; the perverse men who laughed at your distress and inwardly rejoiced at the triumph of your enemies are now confounded and trembling.

But, soldiers, you have as yet done nothing, for there still remains much to do. Neither Turin nor Milan is yours; the ashes of the conquerors of Tonquin are still trodden under foot by the assassins of Basseville. It is said that there are some among you whose courage is shaken, and who would prefer returning to the summits of the Alps and Apennines. No, I cannot believe it. The victors of Montenotte, Millesimo, Dego, and Mondovi are eager to extend the glory of the French name!

TO SOLDIERS ENTERING MILAN

Soldiers:—You have rushed like a torrent from the top of the Apennines; you have overthrown and scattered all that opposed your march. Piedmont, delivered from Austrian tyranny, indulges her natural sentiments of peace and friendship toward France. Milan is yours, and the republican flag waves throughout Lombardy. The dukes of Parma and Modena owe their political existence to your generosity alone.

The army which so proudly threatened you can find no barrier to protect it against your courage; neither the Po, the Ticino, nor the Adda could stop you for a single day. These vaunted bulwarks of Italy opposed you in vain; you passed them as rapidly as the Apennines.

These great successes have filled the heart of your country with joy. Your representatives have ordered a festival to commemorate your victories, which has been held in every district of the republic. There your fathers, your mothers, your wives, sisters, and mistresses rejoiced in your good fortune and proudly boasted of belonging to you.

Yes, soldiers, you have done much—but remains there nothing more to do? Shall it be said of us that we knew how to conquer, but not how to make use of victory? Shall posterity reproach us with having found Capua in Lombardy?

But I see you already hasten to arms. An effeminate repose is tedious to you; the days which are lost to glory are

lost to your happiness. Well, then, let us set forth! We have still forced marches to make, enemies to subdue, laurels to gather, injuries to revenge. Let those who have sharpened the daggers of civil war in France, who have basely murdered our ministers and burnt our ships at Toulon, tremble!

The hour of vengeance has struck; but let the people of all countries be free from apprehension; we are the friends of the people everywhere, and those great men whom we have taken for our models. To restore the Capitol, to replace the statues of the heroes who rendered it illustrious, to rouse the Roman people, stupefied by several ages of slavery—such will be the fruit of our victories, they will form an era for posterity; you will have the immortal glory of changing the face of the finest part of Europe. The French people, free and respected by the whole world, will give to Europe a glorious peace, which will indemnify them for the sacrifices of every kind which for the last six years they have been making. You will then return to your homes and your country. Men will say, as they point you out, "He belonged to the army of Italy."

SPEECH TO THE DIRECTORY

(1797)

Citizens, the French people, in order to be free, had kings to combat. To obtain a Constitution founded on reason, it had the prejudices of eighteen centuries to overcome, The Constitution of the year 3 and you have triumphed over all obstacles. Religion, feudalism, royalty have successively for twenty centuries past governed Europe; but from the peace which you have just concluded dates the era of republican governments.

You have succeeded in organizing the great nation whose vast territory is circumscribed only because Nature herself has fixed its limits. You have done more. The two finest countries in Europe, formerly so renowned for the arts, the sciences, and the great men whose cradle they were, see with the greatest hopes genius and freedom issuing from the tomb of their ancestors. These are two pedestals on which the destinies are about to place two powerful nations.

I have the honor to deliver to you the treaty signed at Campo Formio, and ratified by his majesty, the emperor. Peace insures the liberty, prosperity, and the glory of the Republic. When the happiness of the French people shall be seated on better organic laws, all Europe shall become free.

FAREWELL TO THE OLD GUARD

SOLDIERS OF MY OLD GUARD:—I bid you farewell. For twenty years I have constantly accompanied you on the road to honor and glory. In these latter times, as in the days of our prosperity, you have invariably been models of courage and fidelity. With men such as you our cause could not be lost; but the war would have been interminable; it would have been civil war, and that would have entailed deeper misfortunes on France.

I have sacrificed all my interests to those of the country.

I go, but you, my friends, will continue to serve France. Her happiness was my only thought. It will still be the object of my wishes. Do not regret my fate: if I have consented to survive, it is to serve your glory. I intend to write the history of the great achievements we have performed together.

Adieu, my friends. Would I could press you all to my heart. I embrace you all in the person of your general. Come, General Petit, that I may press you to my heart! Bring me the eagle that I may embrace it also! Adieu, my children! Be always gallant and good. Do not forget me.

LORD MACAULAY

THE REFORM BILL

[Thomas Babington Macaulay, an English historian, essayist, and public man, was born in Leicestershire in 1800. He was precocious from boyhood, and upon completing his course at Cambridge had acquired prodigious learning, which his fine memory enabled him to retain. His first notable work was an essay on Milton, written when he was twenty-five. From this time he added to his fame by a series of essays on historical and biographical subjects and by his "History of England." As a poet he is noted for the "Lays of Ancient Rome." He was chosen to the House of Commons and proved a fine and effective speaker, retaining his seat for many years, although once defeated in an Edinburgh constituency. He also held important offices, including the post of member of the Supreme Council of India, which entailed his residence for some years in that country. He died in 1859. The following address, here given in abridged form, was delivered in the House of Commons March 1, 1831. It won the young orator a high place in the Whig party, then devoted to carrying the Reform Bill, enlarging the franchise and changing the constituencies that elected members of Parliament.]

It is a circumstance, sir, of happy augury for the motion before the House, that almost all those who have opposed it have declared themselves hostile on principle to parliamentary reform. Two members, I think, have confessed that, though they disapprove of the plan now submitted to us, they are forced to admit the necessity of a change in the representative system. Yet even those gentlemen have used, as far as I have observed, no arguments which would not apply as strongly to the most moderate change as to that which has been proposed by his majesty's government.

The honorable baronet who has just sat down [Sir Robert Peel] has told us that the ministers have attempted to unite two inconsistent principles in one abortive measure. Those were his very words. He thinks, if I understand him rightly, that we ought either to leave the representative system such as it is, or to make it perfectly symmetrical. I think, sir, that the

ministers would have acted unwisely if they had taken either course. Their principle is plain, rational, and consistent. It is this: to admit the middle class to a large and direct share in the representation, without any violent shock to the institutions of our country. [Hear! hear!] I understand those cheers; but surely the gentlemen who utter them will allow that the change which will be made in our institutions by this bill is far less violent than that which, according to the honorable baronet, ought to be made if we make any reform at all. I praise the ministers for not attempting, at the present time, to make the representation uniform. I praise them for not effacing the old distinction between the towns and the counties, and for not assigning members to districts, according to the American practice, by the Rule of Three. The government has, in my opinion, done all that was necessary for the removal of a great practical evil, and no more than was necessary.

I consider this, sir, as a practical question. I rest my opinion on no general theory of government. I distrust all general theories of government. I will not positively say that there is any form of polity which may not, in some conceivable circumstances, be the best possible. I believe that there are societies in which every man may safely be admitted to vote. [Hear! hear!] Gentlemen may cheer, but such is my opinion. I say, sir, that there are countries in which the condition of the laboring classes is such that they may safely be entrusted with the right of electing members of the legislature. If the laborers of England were in that state in which I, from my soul, wish to see them; if employment were always plentiful, wages always high, food always cheap; if a large family were considered not as an encumbrance but as a blessing, the principal objections to universal suffrage would, I think, be removed.

Universal suffrage exists in the United States without producing any very frightful consequences; and I do not believe that the people of those States, or of any part of the world, are in any good quality naturally superior to our own countrymen. But, unhappily, the laboring classes in England, and in all old countries, are occasionally in a state of great distress. Some of the causes of this distress are, I fear, beyond the control of the government. We know what effect distress pro-

duces, even on people more intelligent than the great body of the laboring classes can possibly be. We know that it makes even wise men irritable, unreasonable, credulous, eager for immediate relief, heedless of remote consequences. There is no quackery in medicine, religion, or politics, which may not impose even on a powerful mind, when that mind has been disordered by pain or fear. It is therefore no reflection on the poorer class of Englishmen, who are not, and who cannot in the nature of things be, highly educated, to say that distress produces on them its natural effects, those effects which it would produce on the Americans, or on any other people; that it blinds their judgment, that it inflames their passions, that it makes them prone to believe those who flatter them, and to distrust those who would serve them. For the sake, therefore, of the whole society—the sake of the laboring classes themselves —I hold it to be clearly expedient that, in a country like this, the right of suffrage should depend on a pecuniary qualification.

But, sir, every argument which would induce me to oppose universal suffrage induces me to support the plan which is now before us. I am opposed to universal suffrage, because I think that it would produce a destructive revolution. I support this plan, because I am sure that it is our best security against a revolution. The noble paymaster of the forces hinted, delicately indeed and remotely, at this subject. He spoke of the danger of disappointing the expectations of the nation; and for this he was charged with threatening the House. Sir, in the year 1817, the late Lord Londonderry proposed a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. On that occasion he told the House that, unless the measures which he recommended were adopted, the public peace could not be preserved. Was he accused of threatening the House? Again, in the year 1819, he proposed the laws known by the name of the Six Acts. He then told the House that, unless the executive power were reinforced, all the institutions of the country would be overturned by popular violence. Was he then accused of threatening the House? Will any gentleman say that it is parliamentary and decorous to urge the danger arising from popular discontent as an argument for severity; but that it is unparliamentary and indecorous to urge that same danger as an argument for conciliation?

I, sir, do entertain great apprehension for the fate of my country; I do in my conscience believe that, unless the plan proposed, or some similar plan, be speedily adopted, great and terrible calamities will befall us. Entertaining this opinion, I think myself bound to state it, not as a threat, but as a reason. I support this bill because it will improve our institutions; but I support it also because it tends to preserve them.

If it be said that there is an evil in change as change, I answer that there is also an evil in discontent as discontent. This, indeed, is the strongest part of our case. It is said that the system works well. I deny it. I deny that a system works well which the people regard with aversion. We may say here that it is a good system and a perfect system. But if any man were to say so to any six hundred and fifty-eight respectable farmers or shopkeepers, chosen by lot in any part of England, he would be hooted down and laughed to scorn. Are these the feelings with which any part of the government ought to be regarded? Above all, are these the feelings with which the popular branch of the legislature ought to be regarded?

It is almost as essential to the utility of a House of Commons that it should possess the confidence of the people, as that it should deserve that confidence. Unfortunately, that which is in theory the popular part of our government, is in practice the unpopular part. Who wishes to dethrone the king? Who wishes to turn the lords out of their House? Here and there a crazy radical, whom the boys in the street point at as he walks along. Who wishes to alter the constitution of this House? The whole people. It is natural that it should be so. The House of Commons is, in the language of Mr. Burke, a check, not on the people, but for the people. While that check is efficient, there is no reason to fear that the king or the nobles will oppress the people. But if that check requires checking, how is it to be checked? If the salt shall lose its savor, wherewith shall we season it? The distrust with which the nation regards this House may be unjust. But what then? Can you remove that distrust? That it exists cannot be denied. That it is an evil cannot be denied. That it is an increasing evil cannot be denied. One gentleman tells us that it has been produced by the late events in France and

Belgium; another, that it is the effect of seditious works which have lately been published. If this feeling be of origin so recent, I have read history to little purpose.

Sir, this alarming discontent is not the growth of a day, or of a year. If there be any symptoms by which it is possible to distinguish the chronic diseases of the body politic from its passing inflammations, all those symptoms exist in the present case. The taint has been gradually becoming more extensive and more malignant, through the whole lifetime of two generations. We have tried anodynes. We have tried cruel operations. What are we to try now? Who flatters himself that he can turn this feeling back? Does there remain any argument which escaped the comprehensive intellect of Mr. Burke, or the subtlety of Mr. Windham? Does there remain any species of coercion which was not tried by Mr. Pitt and by Lord Londonderry? We have had laws. We have had blood. New treasons have been created. The Press has been shocked. The Habeas Corpus Act has been suspended. Public meetings have been prohibited. The event has proved that these expedients were mere palliatives. You are at the end of your palliatives. The evil remains. It is more formidable than ever. What is to be done?

Under such circumstances, a great plan of reconciliation, prepared by the ministers of the Crown, has been brought before us in a manner which gives additional luster to a noble name, inseparably associated during two centuries with the dearest liberties of the English people. I will not say that this plan is in all its details precisely such as I might wish it to be; but it is founded on a great and a sound principle. It takes away a vast power from a few. It distributes that power through the great mass of the middle order. Every man, therefore, who thinks as I think, is bound to stand firmly by ministers who are resolved to stand or fall with this measure. Were I one of them, I would sooner, infinitely sooner, fall with such a measure than stand by any other means that ever supported a cabinet.

My honorable friend, the member for the University of Oxford [Sir Robert Inglis], tells us that if we pass this law England will soon be a republic. The reformed House of Commons will, according to him, before it has sat ten years, depose

the king and expel the lords from their House. Sir, if my honorable friend could prove this, he would have succeeded in bringing an argument for democracy infinitely stronger than any that is to be found in the works of Paine. My honorable friend's proposition is in fact this: that our monarchical and aristocratical institutions have no hold on the public mind of England; that these institutions are regarded with aversion by a decided majority of the middle class. This, sir, I say, is plainly deducible from his proposition; for he tells us that the representatives of the middle class will inevitably abolish royalty and nobility within ten years; and there is surely no reason to think that the representatives of the middle class will be more inclined to a democratic revolution than their constituents. Now, sir, if I were convinced that the great body of the middle class in England look with aversion on monarchy and aristocracy, I should be forced, much against my will, to come to this conclusion, that monarchical and aristocratical institutions are unsuited to my country. Monarchy and aristocracy, valuable and useful as I think them, are still valuable and useful as means and not as ends. The end of government is the happiness of the people, and I do not conceive that, in a country like this, the happiness of the people can be promoted by a form of government in which the middle classes place no confidence, and which exists only because the middle classes have no organ by which to make their sentiments known. But, sir, I am fully convinced that the middle classes sincerely wish to uphold the royal prerogatives and the constitutional rights of the peers.

The question of parliamentary reform is still behind. But signs, of which it is impossible to misconceive the import, do most clearly indicate that, unless that question also be speedily settled, property, and order, and all the institutions of this great monarchy, will be exposed to fearful peril. Is it possible that gentlemen long versed in high political affairs cannot read these signs? Is it possible that they can really believe that the representative system of England, such as it now is will last till the year 1860? If not, for what would they have us wait? Would they have us wait merely that we may show to all the world how little we have profited by our own recent experience?

Would they have us wait, that we may once again hit the exact point where we can neither refuse with authority nor concede with grace? Would they have us wait, that the numbers of the discontented party may become larger, its demands higher, its feelings more acrimonious, its organization more complete? Would they have us wait till the whole tragi-comedy of 1827 has been acted over again; till they have been brought into office by a cry of "No Reform," to be reformers, as they were once before brought into office by a cry of "No Popery," to be emancipators? Have they obliterated from their minds—gladly, perhaps, would some among them obliterate from their minds—the transactions of that year? And have they forgotten all the transactions of the succeeding year? Have they forgotten how the spirit of liberty in Ireland, debarred from its natural outlet, found a vent by forbidden passages? Have they forgotten how we were forced to indulge the Catholics in all the license of rebels, merely because we chose to withhold from them the liberties of subjects? Do they wait for associations more formidable than that of the Corn Exchange, for contributions larger than the Rent, for agitators more violent than those who, three years ago, divided with the king and the Parliament the sovereignty of Ireland? Do they wait for that last and most dreadful paroxysm of popular rage, for that last and most cruel test of military fidelity?

Let them wait, if their past experience shall induce them to think that any high honor or any exquisite pleasure is to be obtained by a policy like this. Let them wait, if this strange and fearful infatuation be indeed upon them, that they should not see with their eyes, or hear with their ears, or understand with their heart. But let us know our interest and our duty better. Turn where we may, within, around, the voice of great events is proclaiming to us: Reform, that you may preserve. Now, therefore, while everything at home and abroad forebodes ruin to those who persist in a hopeless struggle against the spirit of the age; now, while the crash of the proudest throne of the continent is still resounding in our ears; now, while the roof of a British palace affords an ignominious shelter to the exiled heir of forty kings; now, while we see on every side ancient institutions subverted, and great

societies dissolved; now, while the heart of England is still sound; now, while old feelings and old associations retain a power and a charm which may too soon pass away; now, in this your accepted time, now, in this your day of salvation, take counsel, not of prejudice, not of party spirit, not of the ignominious pride of a fatal consistency, but of history, of reason, of the ages which are past, of the signs of this most portentous time.

Pronounce in a manner worthy of the expectation with which this great debate has been anticipated, and of the long remembrance which it will leave behind. Renew the youth of the State. Save property, divided against itself. Save the multitude, endangered by its own ungovernable passions. Save the aristocracy, endangered by its own unpopular power. Save the greatest, and fairest, and most highly civilized community that ever existed, from calamities which may in a few days sweep away all the rich heritage of so many ages of wisdom and glory. The danger is terrible. The time is short. If this bill should be rejected, I pray to God that none of those who concur in rejecting it may ever remember their votes with unavailing remorse, amid the wreck of laws, the confusion of ranks, the spoliation of property, and the dissolution of social order.

RICHARD COBDEN

FREE TRADE WITH ALL NATIONS

[Richard Cobden, an English economic agitator and popular speaker, noted as "the apostle of free trade," was born in Sussex in 1804. He received an elementary education, and having served as clerk in a warehouse became a commercial traveler. Later he entered the calico-printing business in Manchester, and succeeded. He visited European countries and the United States, and was thus led to form those free trade views for which he is celebrated. In pamphlets and speeches he asserted that England's true policy was the avoidance of war and the extension of commerce. In 1836 an association was formed for the repeal of the corn laws. Into this agitation he threw himself enthusiastically, organizing the movement and strengthening it by effective speeches at popular meetings. He was elected to Parliament in 1841 and proved a ready debater. With John Bright he went from one end of England to the other, spreading the anti-corn agitation to such an extent that the objectionable statutes were repealed in 1846. He continued to sit in Parliament, and although once defeated, he was sent back to the Commons, and remained a member until his death in 1865. He sided with the North during the American Civil War, and urged the non-intervention of England in continental European complications. The speech that follows shows the ideas and principles of the great free-trader, and his earnestness in recommending his favorite theory to the world at large. It was delivered in Manchester in 1846.]

I SHALL begin the few remarks which I have to offer to this meeting by proposing, contrary to my usual custom, a resolution; and it is, "That the merchants, manufacturers, and other members of the National Anti-Corn-Law League claim no protection whatever for the manufactured products of this country, and desire to see obliterated forever the few nominally protective duties against foreign manufacture which still remain upon our statute books." Gentlemen, if any of you have taken the pains to wade through the reports of the protectionist meetings, as they are called, which have been held lately, you would see that our opponents, at the end of seven years of our agitation, have found out their mistake, and are

abandoning the corn laws; and now, like unskillful blunderers as they are, they want to take up a new position, just as we are going to achieve the victory. Then they have been telling something very like fibs when they claimed the corn laws as compensation for peculiar burdens. They say now that they want merely protection in common with all other interests, and they now call themselves the advocates of protection to native industry in all its branches; and, by way of making the appeal to the less-informed portion of the community, they say that the Anti-Corn-Law League are merely the advocates of free trade in corn, but that we want to preserve a monopoly in manufactures.

Now, the resolution which I have to submit to you, and which we will put to this meeting to-night—the largest by far that I ever saw in this room, and comprising men of every class and of every calling in this district—let that resolution decide, once and forever, whether our opponents can with truth lay that to our charge henceforth. There is nothing new in this proposition, for at the very beginning of this agitation—at the meeting of the Chamber of Commerce—when that faint voice was raised in that small room in King Street, in December, 1838, for the total and immediate repeal of the corn laws—when that ball was set in motion which has been accumulating in strength and velocity ever since, why, the petition stated fairly that this community wanted no protection for its own industry. I will read the conclusion of that admirable petition. It is as follows:

"Holding one of the principles of eternal justice to be the inalienable right of every man freely to exchange the result of his labor for the productions of other people, and maintaining the practice of protecting one part of the community at the expense of all other classes to be unsound and unjustifiable, your petitioners earnestly implore your honorable house to repeal all laws relating to the importation of foreign corn and other foreign articles of subsistence, and to carry out to the fullest extent, both as affects agriculture and manufactures, the true and peaceful principles of free trade, by removing all existing obstacles to the unrestricted employment of industry and capital."

We have passed similar resolutions at all our great aggregate meetings of delegates in London ever since that was issued.

I don't put this resolution as an argument or as an appeal to meet the appeals made in the protection societies' meetings. I believe that the men who now, in this seventh year of our discussion, can come forth before their country and talk as those men have done—I believe that you might as well preach to the deaf adder. You cannot convince them. I doubt whether they have not been living in their shells, like oysters; I doubt whether they know such a thing is in existence as a railroad, or as penny postage. They are in profound ignorance of everything, and incapable of being taught. We don't appeal to them, but to a very large portion of this community, who don't take a very prominent part in this discussion—who may be considered as important lookers-on. Many have been misled by the reiterated assertions of our opponents; and it is at this eleventh hour to convince these men, and to give them an opportunity to joining our ranks, as they will do, that I offer this proof of disinterestedness and the fairness of our proposals. I don't intend to go into an argument to convince any man here that protection to all must be protection to none. If it takes from one man's pocket, and allows him to compensate himself by taking an equivalent from another man's pocket, and if that goes on in a circle through the whole community, it is only a clumsy process of robbing all to enrich none, and simply has this effect, that it ties up the hands of industry in all directions. I need not offer one word to convince you of that. The only motive that I have for saying a word is, that what I say here may convince others elsewhere—the men who meet in protection societies. But the arguments I should adduce to an intelligent audience like this would be spoken in vain to the members of Parliament who are now the advocates of protection. I shall meet them in less than a week in London, and there I will teach the A B C of this protection. It is of no use trying to teach children words of five syllables, when they have not got out of the alphabet.

Well, what exhibitions these protectionists have been making of themselves! Judging from the length of their speeches, as you see them reported, you might fancy the whole community was in motion. Fortunately for us, and for the reputation of our countrymen, the men who can utter the driveling

nonsense which we have had exhibited to the world lately, and the men who can listen to it, are very few in number. I doubt exceedingly whether all the men who have attended all the protection meetings, during the last month, might not very comfortably be put into this hall. But these protection societies have not only changed their principles, but it seems they have resolved to change their tactics. They have now, at the eleventh hour, again resolved that they will make their body political, and look after the registration. What simpletons they must have been to have thought that they could have done any good without that! So they have resolved that their societies shall spend their money in precisely the same way that the league have been expending theirs. They have hitherto been telling us, in all their meetings and in all their newspapers, that the league is an unconstitutional body; that it is an infernal club which aims at corrupting, at vitiating, and at swamping the registrations; and now, forsooth, when no good can possibly come of it—when they most certainly should have wisely abstained from imitating it, since they cannot do any good, and have kept up the strain they formerly had, of calling the league an unconstitutional body, they resolve to rescind their resolution, and to follow his grace the Duke of Richmond's advice, and fight us with our own weapons. Now, I presume, we are a constitutional body. It is a fortunate thing that we have not got great dukes to lead us. But, now, of what force is this resolution? Like everything they do, it is farcical—it is unreal. The protection societies, from the beginning, have been nothing but phantoms. They are not realities. And what is their resolution—what does it amount to? They resolve that they will look after the registration. We all know that they have done their worst in that way already. We all know that these landlords may really make their acres a kind of electioneering property. We know right well that their land agents are their electioneering agents. We know that their rent rolls have been made their muster rolls for fighting the battle of protection. These poor driveling people say that we buy qualifications, and present them to our friends; that we bind them down to vote as we please. We have never bought a vote, and we never intend to buy a vote or to give one. Should we not be block-

heads to buy votes and give them, when we have ten thousand persons ready to buy them at our request?

But I suspect that our protectionist friends have a notion that there is some plan—some secret, sinister plan—by which they can put fictitious votes on the register. Now I beg to tell them that the league is not more powerful to create votes than it is to detect the flaws in the bad votes of our opponents; and they may depend on it, if they attempt to put fictitious voters on the register, that we have our ferrets in every county, and that they will find out the flaws; and when the registration time comes, we'll have an objection registered against every one of their fictitious qualifications, and make them produce their title deeds, and show that they have paid for them. Well, we have our protectionist opponents; but how we may congratulate ourselves on the position which they have given to this question by the discussion that has been raised everywhere during the last few months! We cannot enter a steamboat or a railroad carriage; nay, we cannot even go into an omnibus, but the first thing that any man does, almost before he has deposited his umbrella, is to ask, "Well, what is the last news about the corn laws?" Now, we, who remember how difficult it was, at the beginning of our agitation, to bring men's minds to the discussion of this question, when we think that every newspaper is now full of it—the same broad sheet containing, perhaps, a report of this meeting, and of the miserable driveling of some hole-and-corner agricultural gathering—and when we think that the whole community is engaged in reading the discussion and pondering on the several arguments, we can desire no more. The league might close its doors to-morrow, and its work might be considered as done the moment it compels or induces people to discuss the question.

But the feeling I have alluded to is spreading beyond our own country. I am glad to hear that in Ireland the question is attracting attention. You have probably heard that my friend Mr. Bright and I have received a requisition, signed by merchants and manufacturers of every grade and party in Belfast, soliciting us to go there and address them; and I deeply regret that we cannot put our feet on Irish ground to advocate this question. To-day I have received a copy of a requisition

to the mayor of Drogheda, calling a meeting for next Monday, to petition for the total and immediate repeal of the corn laws, and I am glad to notice at the head of that requisition the name of the Catholic primate, Doctor Croly, a man eminent for learning, piety, and moderation; and that it is also headed by the rest of the Catholic clergy of that borough. I hope that these examples will not be without their due effect in another quarter. We have, I believe, the majority of every religious denomination with us—I mean the dissenting denominations—we have them almost *en masse*, both ministers and laymen; and I believe the only body, the only religious body, which we may not say we have with us as a body, are the members of the Church of England.

On this point I will just offer this remark: The clergy of the Church of England have been placed in a most invidious, and, I think, an unfortunate position, by the mode in which their tithe commutation charge was fixed some years ago. My friend Colonel Thompson will recollect it, for he was in Parliament at the time, and protested against the way in which the tithe commutation rent charge was fixed. He said, with the great foresight he had always shown in the struggle for the repeal of the corn laws, that it would make the clergy of the Church of England parties to the present corn law by fixing their tithe at a fixed quantity of corn, fluctuating according to the price of the last seven years. Let it be borne in mind that every other class of the community may be directly compensated for the repeal of the corn laws—I mean every class connected with agriculture—except the clergy. The landlords may be compensated, if prices fall, by an increased quantity of produce; so also may the farmer and the laborer; but the clergy of the Church of England receive a given number of quarts of wheat for their tithe, whatever the price may be. I think, however, we may draw a favorable conclusion, under all the circumstances, from the fact that I believe there has not been one clergyman of the Church of England at all eminent for rank, piety, or learning, who has come out, notwithstanding the strong temptation of personal interest, to advocate the existing corn law. I think that we may take this as a proof of the very strong appeal to justice which this question makes, and perhaps augur also that there is a strong

feeling among the great body of the members of the Church of England in favor of free trade in corn.

Well, there is one other quarter in which we have seen the progress of sound principles. I allude to America. We have received the American President's message; we have had also the report of the secretary of the treasury, and both President Polk and Mr. Secretary Walker have been taking my friend Colonel Thompson's task out of his hands, and lecturing the people of America on the subject of free trade. I have never read a better digest of the arguments in favor of free trade than that put forth by Mr. Secretary Walker, and addressed to the Congress of that country. I augur from all these things that our question is making rapid progress throughout the world, and that we are coming to the consummation of our labors. We are verging now toward the session of Parliament, and I predict that the question will either receive its quietus or that it will lead to the dissolution of this Parliament; and then the next will certainly relieve us of our burden.

Now, many people are found to speculate on what Sir Robert Peel may do in the approaching session of Parliament. It is a very hazardous thing, considering that in one week only you will be as wise as I shall, to venture to make a prediction on this subject. [A cry of "We are very anxious."] You are very anxious, no doubt. Well, let us see if we can speculate a little on futurity, and relieve our anxiety. There are three courses open to Sir Robert Peel. He may keep the law as it is; he may totally repeal it; or he may do something between the two by tinkering his scale again, or giving us a fixed duty. Now, I predict that Sir Robert Peel will either keep the law as it is or he will propose totally to abolish it. And I ground my prediction on this, because these are the only two things that anybody in the country wants him to do. There are some that want to keep protection as it is; others want to get rid of it; but nobody wants anything between the two. He has his choice to make, and I have this opinion of his sagacity, that, if he change at all, he will change for total repeal. But the question is, "Will he propose total and immediate repeal?" Now, there, if you please, I will forbear to offer a prediction. But I will venture to give you a reason or two why I think he ought to take total and immediate repeal. I don't think

that any class is so much interested in having the corn law totally and immediately repealed as the farming class. I believe that it is of more importance to the farmers to have the repeal instantaneous, instead of gradual, than to any other class of the community. In fact, I observe, in the report of a recent Oxfordshire protection meeting, given in to-day's paper, that when Lord Norreys was alluding to the probability of Sir Robert Peel abolishing the corn laws gradually, a farmer by the name of Gillat cried out, "We had better be drowned outright than ducked to death." Gentlemen, I used to employ another simile—a very humble one, I admit. I used to say that an old farmer had told me that, if he were going to cut off his sheep-dog's tail, it would be far more humane to cut it off at once than a piece every day in the week. But now I think that the farmer's simile in Oxford is the newest and the best that we can use. Nothing could be more easy than to demonstrate that it is the true interest of the farmers, if the corn law is to be abolished, to have it abolished instantly. If the corn law were abolished to-morrow, my firm belief is that, instead of wheat falling, it would have a tendency to rise. That is my firm belief, because speculation has already anticipated Sir Robert Peel, and wheat has fallen in consequence of that apprehension. I believe that, owing to the scarcity everywhere—I mean in all parts of Europe—you could not, if you prayed for it, if you had your own wishing-cap on, and could make your own time and circumstances—I believe, I say, that you could never find such an opportunity for abolishing the corn laws totally and immediately as if it were done next week; for it so happens that the very countries from which, in ordinary times, we have been supplied, have been afflicted, like ourselves, with scarcity—that the countries of Europe are competing with us for the very small surplus existing in America. They have, in fact, anticipated us in that market, and they have left the world's markets so bare of corn that, whatever your necessities may be, I defy you to have other than high prices of corn during the next twelve months, though the corn law was abolished to-morrow.

European countries are suffering as we are from the same evil. They are suffering from scarcity now, owing to the absurd legislation respecting the article of corn. Europe alto-

gether has been corrupted by the vicious example of England in her commercial legislation. There they are, throughout the continent of Europe, with a population increasing at the rate of four or five millions a year; yet they make it their business, like ourselves, to put barriers in the way of a sufficiency of food to meet the demand of an increasing population.

I believe that if you abolish the corn law honestly, and adopt free trade in its simplicity, there will not be a tariff in Europe that will not be changed in less than five years to follow your example. Well, gentlemen, suppose the corn law be not abolished immediately, but that Sir Robert Peel bring in a measure giving you a duty of five shillings, six shillings, or seven shillings, and going down one shilling a year for four or five years, till the whole duty is abolished, what would be the effect on foreign countries? They will then exaggerate the importance of this market when the duty is wholly off. They will go on raising supplies, calculating that, when the duty is wholly off, they will have a market for their produce, and high prices to remunerate them; and if, as is very likely and consistent with our experience, we should have a return to abundant seasons, these vast importations will be poured upon our markets, probably just at the time when our prices are low; and they would come here, because they would have no other market, to swamp our markets, and deprive the farmer of the sale of his produce at a remunerating price. But, on the contrary, let the corn law be abolished instantly; let foreigners see what the English market is in its natural state, and then they will be able to judge from year to year and from season to season what will be the future demand from this country for foreign corn. There will be no extravagant estimate of what we want—no contingency of bad harvests to speculate upon. The supply will be regulated by the demand, and will reach that state which will be the best security against both gluts and famine. Therefore, for the farmer's sake, I plead for the immediate abolition of this law. A farmer never can have a fair and equitable understanding or adjustment with his landlord, whether as respects rent, tenure, or game, until this law is wholly removed out of his way. Let the repeal be gradual, and the landlord will say to the farmer, through the land agent, "Oh, the duty will be seven

shillings next year; you have not had more than twelve months' experience of the workings of the system yet"; and the farmer goes away without any settlement having been come to. Another year passes over, and when the farmer presents himself, he is told, "Oh, the duty will be five shillings this year; I cannot yet tell what the effect will be; you must stop a while." The next year the same thing is repeated, and the end is that there is no adjustment of any kind between the landlord and tenant. But put it at once on a natural footing, abolish all restrictions, and the landlord and tenant will be brought to a prompt settlement; they will be placed precisely on the same footing as you are in your manufactures.

Well, I have now spoken of what may be done. I have told you, too, what I should advocate; but I must say that, whatever is proposed by Sir Robert Peel, we, as free traders, have but one course to pursue. If he propose a total and immediate and unconditional repeal, we shall throw up our caps for Sir Robert Peel. If he propose anything else, then Mr. Villiers will be ready, as he has been on former occasions, to move his amendment for a total and immediate repeal of the corn laws. We are not responsible for what ministers may do; we are but responsible for the performance of our duty. We don't offer to do impossibilities; but we will do our utmost to carry out our principles. But, gentlemen, I tell you honestly, I think less of what this Parliament may do—I care less for their opinions, less for the intentions of the prime minister and the Cabinet, than what may be the opinion of a meeting like this and of the people out of doors. This question will not be carried by ministers or by the present Parliament; it will be carried, when it is carried, by the will of the nation. We will do nothing that can remove us a hair's breadth from the rock which we have stood upon with so much safety for the last seven years. All other parties have been on the quicksand, and floated about by every wave, by every tide, and by every wind—some floating to us; others, like fragrants scattered over the ocean, without rudder or compass; while we are upon solid ground, and no temptation, whether of parties or of ministers, shall ever make us swerve a hair's breadth. I am anxious to hear now, at the last meeting before we go to Parliament—before we enter that arena to

which all men's minds will be turned during the next week—I am anxious, not merely that we should all of us understand each other on this question, but that we should be considered as occupying as independent and isolated a position as we did at the first moment of the formation of this league. We have nothing to do with Whigs or Tories; we are stronger than either of them; if we stick to our principles, we can, if necessary, beat both. And I hope we perfectly understand now that we have not, in the advocacy of this great question, a single object in view but that which we have honestly avowed from the beginning. Our opponents may charge us with designs to do other things. No, gentlemen, I have never encouraged that. Some of my friends have said, "When this work is done, you will have some influence in the country; you must do so and so." I said then, as I say now, "Every new political principle must have its special advocates, just as every new faith has its martyrs." It is a mistake to suppose that this organization can be turned to other purposes. It is a mistake to suppose that men, prominent in the advocacy of the principle of free trade, can with the same force and effect identify themselves with any other principle hereafter. It will be enough if the league accomplishes the triumph of the principle we have before us. I have never taken a limited view of the object or scope of this great principle. I have never advocated this question very much as a trader.

But I have been accused of looking too much to material interests. Nevertheless, I can say that I have taken as large and great a view of the effects of this mighty principle as ever did any man who dreamt over it in his own study. I believe that the physical gain will be the smallest gain to humanity from the success of this principle. I look farther; I see in the free trade principle that which shall act on the moral world as the principle of gravitation in the universe, drawing men together, thrusting aside the antagonism of race and creed and language, and uniting us in the bonds of eternal peace. I have looked even farther. I have speculated, and probably dreamt, in the dim future—aye, a thousand years hence—I have speculated on what the effect of the triumph of this principle may be. I believe that the effect will be to change the face of the world, so as to introduce a system

of government entirely distinct from that which now prevails. I believe that the desire and the motive for large and mighty empires—for gigantic armies and great navies—for those materials which are used for the destruction of life and the desolation of the rewards of labor—will die away; I believe that such things will cease to be necessary, or to be used, when man becomes one family and freely exchanges the fruits of his labor with his brother man. I believe that, if we could be allowed to reappear on this sublunary scene, we should see, at a far distant period, the governing system of this world revert to something like the municipal system; and I believe that the speculative philosopher of a thousand years hence will date the greatest revolution that ever happened in the world's history from the triumph of the principle which we have met here to advocate. I believe these things; but, whatever may have been my dreams and speculations, I have never obtruded them upon others. I have never acted upon personal or interested motives in this question; I seek no alliance with parties or favor from parties—and I will take none; but having the feeling I have of the sacredness of the principle, I say that I can never agree to tamper with it. I at least will never be suspected of doing otherwise than pursuing it disinterestedly, honestly, and resolutely.

JOHN BRIGHT

THE "TRENT" AFFAIR

[John Bright, an English orator and statesman, was born in Rochdale in 1811. He was the son of a Quaker cotton-spinner in prosperous circumstances. He early showed aptitude for business affairs, but his chief interest was in public questions. The opinions he formed were always of an advanced liberal kind, their first conspicuous assertion occurring when the Anti-Corn-Law League was formed by Cobden in 1839. Bright's speeches drew instant attention to him. He proclaimed himself a free-trader and a friend of the working classes, and was elected to Parliament in 1843, being reëlected, with the exception of one defeat, until the close of his career. He advocated a peaceful foreign policy, suffrage extension, and the series of economic ideas known as those of the Manchester School. One of the great displays of his eloquence was made during the American Civil War. He was an ardent friend of the Northern cause at a time when English public men seemed to have given their sympathies to the South. He stemmed the tide that had set in against the Union, and brought his countrymen around to his way of thinking. He sat twice in a Gladstone cabinet, but he could not accept the Home Rule bill. He died in 1889.

Bright was called by Lord John Russell in 1854, "the most powerful speaker in the House of Commons," but his greatest triumphs were made in addressing large public audiences. The following speech was delivered at Rochdale in 1861, and was occasioned by the action of Captain Wilkes, of the United States Navy, in arresting Mason and Slidell, Confederate commissioners to England and France, who were on board the British steamer "Trent," in 1861.]

WHEN the gentlemen who invited me to this dinner called upon me, I felt their kindness very sensibly, and now I am deeply grateful to my friends around me, and to you all, for the abundant manifestations of kindness with which I have been received to-night. I am, as you all know, surrounded at this moment by my neighbors and friends, and I may say with the utmost truth that I value the good opinions of those who now hear my voice far beyond the opinions of any equal number of the inhabitants of this country selected from any other portion of it. You have, by this act of kindness that

you have shown me, given proof that, in the main, you do not disapprove of my course and labors, that at least you are willing to express an opinion that the motives by which I have been actuated have been honest and honorable to myself, and that that course has not been entirely without service to my country. Coming to this meeting, or to any similar meeting, I always find that the subjects for discussion appear too many, and far more than it is possible to treat at length. In these times in which we live, by the influence of the telegraph, and the steamboat, and the railroad, and the multiplication of newspapers, we seem continually to stand as on the top of an exceeding high mountain, from which we behold all the kingdoms of the earth and all the glory of them—unhappily, also, not only their glory, but their follies, and their crimes, and their calamities.

Seven years ago, our eyes were turned with anxious expectation to a remote corner of Europe, where five nations were contending in bloody strife for an object which possibly hardly one of them comprehended, and, if they did comprehend it, which all sensible men among them must have known to be absolutely impracticable. Four years ago we were looking still farther to the East, where there was a gigantic revolt in a great dependency of the British crown, arising mainly from gross neglect, and from the incapacity of England, up to that moment, to govern the country which it had known how to conquer. Two years ago we looked south, to the plains of Lombardy, and saw a great strife there, in which every man in England took a strong interest; and we have welcomed, as the result of that strife, the addition of a great kingdom to the list of European states. Now our eyes are turned in a contrary direction, and we look to the West. There we see a struggle in progress of the very highest interest to England and to humanity at large. We see there a nation which I shall call the transatlantic English nation—the inheritor and partaker of all the historic glories of this country. We see it torn with intestine broils, and suffering from calamities from which for more than a century past—in fact, for more than two centuries past—this country has been exempt. That struggle is of especial interest to us.

We remember the description which one of our great poets gives of Rome:—

"Lone mother of dead empires."

But England is the living mother of great nations on the American and on the Australian continents, which promise to endow the world with all her knowledge and all her civilization, and with even something more than the freedom she herself enjoys.

Eighty-five years ago, at the time when some of our oldest townsmen were very little children, there were, on the North American continent, colonies, mainly of Englishmen, containing about three millions of souls. These colonies we have seen a year ago constituting the United States of North America, and comprising a population of no less than thirty millions of souls. We know that in agriculture and manufactures, with the exception of this kingdom, there is no country in the world which in these arts may be placed in advance of the United States. With regard to inventions, I believe, within the last thirty years, we have received more useful inventions from the United States than from all the other countries of the earth. In that country there are probably ten times as many miles of telegraph as there are in this country, and there are at least five or six times as many miles of railway. The tonnage of its shipping is at least equal to ours, if it does not exceed ours. The prisons of that country —for, even in countries the most favored, prisons are needful—have been models for other nations of the earth; and many European governments have sent missions at different times to inquire into the admirable system of education so universally adopted in their free schools throughout the Northern states.

If I were to speak of that country in a religious aspect, I should say that, considering the short space of time to which their history goes back, there is nothing on the face of the earth besides, and never has been, to equal the magnificent arrangement of churches and ministers, and of all the appliances which are thought necessary for a nation to teach Christianity and morality to its people. Besides all this,

when I state that for many years past the annual public expenditure of the government of that country has been somewhere between £10,000,000 and £15,000,000, I need not, perhaps, say further that there has always existed among all the population an amount of comfort and prosperity and abounding plenty such as I believe no other country in the world, in any age, has enjoyed.

This is a very fine, but a very true picture; yet it has another side to which I must advert. There has been one great feature in that country, one great contrast, which has been pointed to by all who have commented upon the United States as a feature of danger, as a contrast calculated to give pain. There has been in that country the utmost liberty to the white man, and bondage and degradation to the black man. Now rely upon it, that wherever Christianity lives and flourishes, there must grow up from it, necessarily, a conscience hostile to any oppression and to any wrong; and therefore, from the hour when the United States Constitution was formed, so long as it left there this great evil—then comparatively small, but now so great—it left there seeds of that which an American statesman has so happily described of that "irrepressible conflict" of which now the whole world is the witness. . . .

The question of slavery for thirty years has constantly been coming to the surface, disturbing social life, and overthrowing almost all political harmony in the working of the United States. In the North there is no secession; there is no collision. These disturbances and this insurrection are found wholly in the South and in the slave states; and therefore I think that the man who says otherwise, who contends that it is the tariff, or anything whatsoever else than slavery, is either himself deceived or endeavors to deceive others. The object of the South is this: to escape from the majority who wish to limit the area of slavery. They wish to found a slave state freed from the influence and opinions of freedom. The free states in the North now stand before the world as the advocates and defenders of freedom and civilization. The slave states offer themselves for the recognition of a Christian nation, based upon the foundation, the unchangeable foundation in their eyes, of slavery and barbarism.

I will not discuss the guilt of the men who, ministers of a great nation only last year, conspired to overthrow it. I will not point out or recapitulate the statements of the fraudulent manner in which they disposed of the funds in the national exchequer. I will not point out by name any of the men, in this conspiracy, whom history will designate by titles they would not like to hear; but I say that slavery has sought to break up the most free government in the world, and to found a new state, in the nineteenth century, whose corner-stone is the perpetual bondage of millions of men.

Having thus described what appears to me briefly the literal truth of this matter, what is the course that England would be expected to pursue? We should be neutral as far as regards mingling in the strife. We were neutral in the strife in Italy; but we were not neutral in opinion or sympathy; and we know perfectly well that throughout the whole of Italy at this moment there is a feeling that, though no shot was fired from an English ship, and though no English soldier trod their soil, yet still the opinion of England was potent in Europe, and did much for the creation of the Italian kingdom.

With regard to the United States, you know how much we hate slavery—that is, some years ago we thought we knew; that we have given twenty millions sterling—a million a year, or nearly so, of taxes forever—to free eight hundred thousand slaves in the English colonies. We knew, or thought we knew, how much we were in love with free government everywhere, although it might not take precisely the same form as our own government. We were for free government in Italy; we were for free government in Switzerland; and we were for free government, even under a republican form, in the United States of America; and with all this, every man would have said that England would wish the American Union to be prosperous and eternal. . . .

Now no one will expect that I should stand forward as the advocate of war, or as the defender of that great sum of all crimes which is involved in war. But when we are discussing a question of this nature, it is only fair that we should discuss it upon principles which are acknowledged not only in the country where the strife is being carried on,

but are universally acknowledged in this country. When I discussed the Russian War, seven or eight years ago, I always condemned it, on principles which were accepted by the government and people of England, and I took my facts from the blue-books presented to Parliament. I take the liberty, then, of doing that in this case; and I say that, looking at the principles avowed in England, and at its policy, there is no man, who is not absolutely a non-resistant in every sense, who can fairly challenge the conduct of the American government in this war. It would be a curious thing to find that the party in this country which on every public question affecting England is in favor of war at any cost, when they come to speak of the duty of the Government of the United States, is in favor "of peace at any price."

I want to know whether it has ever been admitted by politicians, or statesmen, or people, that a great nation can be broken up at any time by any particular section of any part of that nation. It has been tried occasionally in Ireland, and if it had succeeded history would have said that it was with very good cause. But if anybody tried now to get up a secession or insurrection in Ireland—and it would be infinitely less disturbing to everything than the secession in the United States, because there is a boundary which nobody can dispute—I am quite sure the "Times" would have its "Special Correspondent," and would describe with all the glee and exultation in the world the manner in which the Irish insurrectionists were cut down and made an end of. . . .

Then, what would you do with all those states, and with what we may call the loyal portion of the people of those states? Would you allow them to be dragooned into this insurrection, and into the formation or the becoming parts of a new state, to which they themselves are hostile? And what would you do with the city of Washington? Washington is in a slave state. Would anybody have advised that President Lincoln and his Cabinet, with all the members of Congress, of the House of Representatives and the Senate, from the North, with their wives and children, and everybody else who was not positively in favor of the South, should have set off on their melancholy pilgrimage northward, leaving that capital, hallowed to them by such associations—having its

name even from the Father of their Country—leaving Washington to the South, because Washington is situated in a slave state?

Again, what do you say to the Mississippi River, as you see it upon the map, the "father of waters," rolling its gigantic stream to the ocean? Do you think that the fifty millions which one day will occupy the banks of that river northward, will ever consent that its great stream shall roll through a foreign and it may be a hostile state? And more, there are four millions of negroes in subjection. For them the American Union is directly responsible. They are not secessionists; they are now, as they always were, not citizens nor subjects, but legally under the care and power of the Government of the United States. Would you consent that these should be delivered up to the tender mercies of their taskmasters, the defenders of slavery, as an everlasting institution?

But if all had been surrendered without a struggle, what then? What would the writers in this newspaper and other newspapers have said? If a bare rock in your empire, that would not keep a goat—a single goat—alive, be touched by any foreign power, the whole empire is roused to resistance; and if there be, from accident or passion, the smallest insult to your flag, what do your newspaper writers say upon the subject, and what is said in all your towns and upon all your exchanges? I will tell you what they would have said if the government of the Northern states had taken their insidious and dishonest advice. They would have said the great republic was a failure, that democracy had murdered patriotism, that history afforded no example of such meanness and of such cowardice; and they would have heaped unmeasured obloquy and contempt upon the people and government who had taken that course. . . .

There is one more point. It has been said, "How much better it would be"—not for the United States, but—"for us that these states should be divided." I recollect meeting a gentleman in Bond Street one day before the session was over. He was a rich man, and one whose voice is much heard in the House of Commons; but his voice is not heard when he is on his legs, but when he is cheering other speakers; and he said to me: "After all, this is a sad business about

the United States; but still I think it very much better that they should be split up. In twenty years"—or in fifty years, I forget which it was—"they will be so powerful that they will bully all Europe." And a distinguished member of the House of Commons—distinguished there by his eloquence, distinguished more by his many writings—I mean Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton—he did not exactly express a hope, but he ventured on something like a prediction, that the time would come when there would be, I do not know how many, but about as many independent states on the American continent as you can count upon your fingers.

There cannot be a meaner motive than this I am speaking of, in forming a judgment on this question—that it is "better for us"—for whom, the people of England or the government of England?—that the United States should be severed, and that the North American continent should be as the continent of Europe is, in many states, and subject to all the contentions and disasters which have accompanied the history of the states of Europe. I should say that, if a man had a great heart within him, he would rather look forward to the day when, from that point of land which is habitable nearest to the Pole, to the shores of the Great Gulf, the whole of that vast continent might become one great confederation of states—without a great army, and without a great navy—not mixing itself up with the entanglements of European politics—without a custom-house inside, through the whole length and breadth of its territory—and with freedom everywhere, equality everywhere, law everywhere, peace everywhere—such a confederation would afford at least some hope that man is not forsaken of Heaven, and that the future of our race may be better than the past. . . .

Now I am obliged to say—and I say it with the utmost pain—that if we have not done things that are plainly hostile to the North, and if we have not expressed affection for slavery, and, outwardly and openly, hatred for the Union—I say that there has not been that friendly and cordial neutrality which, if I had been a citizen of the United States, I should have expected; and I say further, that, if there has existed considerable irritation at that, it must be taken as a measure of the high appreciation which the people of those states place

upon the opinion of the people of England. If I had been addressing this audience ten days ago, so far as I know, I should have said just what I have said now; and although, by an untoward event, circumstances are somewhat, even considerably, altered, yet I have thought it desirable to make this statement, with a view, so far as I am able to do it, to improve the opinion of England, and to assuage feelings of irritation in America, if there be any, so that no further difficulties may arise in the progress of this unhappy strife.

But there has occurred an event which was announced to us only a week ago, which is one of great importance, and it may be one of some peril. It is asserted that what is called "international law" has been broken by the seizure of the Southern commissioners on board an English trading steamer by a steamer of war of the United States. Now, what is international law? You have heard that the opinions of the law officers of the crown are in favor of this view of the case —that the law has been broken. I am not at all going to say that it has not. It would be imprudent in me to set my opinion on a legal question which I have only partially examined, against their opinion on the same question, which I presume they have carefully examined. But this I say, that international law is not to be found in an act of parliament—it is not in so many clauses. You know that it is difficult to find the law. I can ask the mayor, or any magistrate around me, whether it is not very difficult to find the law, even when you have found the act of parliament and found the clause. But when you have no act of parliament, and no clause, you may imagine that the case is still more difficult.

Now, maritime law, or international law, consists of opinions and precedents for the most part, and it is very unsettled. The opinions are the opinions of men of different countries, given at different times; and the precedents are not always like each other. The law is very unsettled, and, for the most part, I believe it to be exceedingly bad. In past times, as you know from the histories you read, this country has been a fighting country; we have been belligerents, and, as belligerents, we have carried maritime law, by our own powerful hand, to a pitch that has been very oppressive to foreign, and especially so to neutral, nations. Well, now, for the first time, unhappily—

almost for the first time in our history for the last two hundred years—we are not belligerents, but neutrals; and we are disposed to take, perhaps, rather a different view of maritime and international law.

Now, the act which has been committed by the American steamer, in my opinion, whether it was legal or not, was both impolitic and bad. That is my opinion. I think it may turn out, almost certainly, that, so far as the taking of those men from that ship was concerned, it was an act wholly unknown to, and unauthorized by, the American government. And if the American government believe on the opinion of their law officers, that the act is illegal, I have no doubt they will make fitting reparation; for there is no government in the world that has so strenuously insisted upon modifications of international law, and been so anxious to be guided always by the most moderate and merciful interpretation of that law.

Now, our great advisers of the "Times" newspaper have been persuading people that this is merely one of a series of acts which denote the determination of the Washington government to pick a quarrel with the people of England. Did you ever know anybody who was not very nearly dead drunk, who, having as much upon his hands as he could manage, would offer to fight everybody about him? Do you believe that the United States government, presided over by President Lincoln, so constitutional in all his acts, so moderate as he has been —representing at this moment that great party in the United States, happily now in the ascendency, which has always been especially in favor of peace, and especially friendly to England—do you believe that such a government, having now upon its hands an insurrection of the most formidable character in the South, would invite the armies and the fleets of England to combine with that insurrection, and, it might be, to render it impossible that the Union should ever again be restored? I say, that single statement, whether it came from a public writer or a public speaker, is enough to stamp him forever with the character of being an insidious enemy of both countries.

Well now, what have we seen during the last week? People have not been, I am told—I have not seen much of it—quite as calm as sensible men should be. Here is a question of law. I will undertake to say that when you have from the

United States government—if they think the act legal—a statement of their view of the case, they will show you that, fifty or sixty years ago, during the wars of that time, there were scores of cases that were at least as bad as this, and some infinitely worse. And if it were not so late to-night—and I am not anxious now to go into the question further—I could easily place before you cases of extreme outrage committed by us when we were at war, and for many of which, I am afraid, little or no reparation was offered. But let us bear this in mind, that during this struggle incidents and accidents will happen. Bear in mind the advice of Lord Stanley, so opportune and so judicious. Do not let your newspapers, or your public speakers, or any man, take you off your guard, and bring you into that frame of mind under which your government, if it desires war, may be driven to engage in it; for one may be almost as fatal and as evil as the other.

What can be more monstrous than that we, as we call ourselves, to some extent, an educated, a moral, and a Christian nation—at a moment when an accident of this kind occurs, before we have made a representation to the American government, before we have heard a word from it in reply—should be all up in arms, every sword leaping from its scabbard, and every man looking about for his pistols and his blunderbusses? I think the conduct pursued—and I have no doubt just the same is pursued by a certain class in America—is much more the conduct of savages than of Christian and civilized men. No, let us be calm. You recollect how we were dragged into the Russian war—how we "drifted" into it. You know that I, at least, have not upon my head any of the guilt of that fearful war. You know that it cost one hundred millions of money to this country; that it cost at least the lives of forty thousand Englishmen; that it disturbed your trade; that it nearly doubled the armies of Europe; that it placed the relations of Europe on a much less peaceful footing than before; and that it did not effect one single thing of all those that it was promised to effect.

I recollect speaking on this subject, within the last two years, to a man whose name I have already mentioned, Sir James Graham, in the House of Commons. He was a minister at the time of that war. He was reminding me of a

severe onslaught which I had made upon him and Lord Palmerston for attending a dinner at the Reform Club when Sir Charles Napier was appointed to the command of the Baltic fleet; and he remarked, "What a severe thrashing" I had given them in the House of Commons! I said, "Sir James, tell me candidly, did you not deserve it?" He said, "Well, you were entirely right about that war; we were entirely wrong, and we never should have gone into it." And this is exactly what everybody will say, if you go into a war about this business, when it is over. When your sailors and soldiers, so many of them as may be slaughtered, are gone to their last account; when your taxes are increased, your business—permanently it may be—injured; and when embittered feelings for generations have been created between America and England—then your statesmen will tell you that "we ought not to have gone into the war."

But they will very likely say, as many of them tell me, "What could we do in the frenzy of the public mind?" Let them not add to the frenzy, and let us be careful that nobody drives us into that frenzy. Remembering the past, remembering at this moment the perils of a friendly people, and seeing the difficulties by which they are surrounded, let us, I entreat of you, see if there be any real moderation in the people of England, and if magnanimity, so often to be found among individuals, is absolutely wanting in a great nation.

Now, government may discuss this matter—they may arrange it—they may arbitrate it. I have received here, since I came into the room, a dispatch from a friend of mine in London, referring to this matter. I believe some portion of it is in the papers this evening, but I have not seen them. He states that General Scott, whom you know by name, who has come over from America to France, being in a bad state of health—the general lately of the American army, and a man whose reputation in that country is hardly second to that which the Duke of Wellington held during his lifetime in this country—General Scott has written a letter on the American difficulty. He denies that the cabinet at Washington had ordered the seizure of the Southern commissioners, if found, under a neutral flag. The question of legal right involved in the seizure, the general thinks a very narrow ground on which

to force a quarrel with the United States. As to Messrs. Slidell and Mason being or not being contraband, the general answers for it that, if Mr. Seward could convince Earl Russell that they bore that character, Earl Russell will be able to convince Mr. Seward that they did not. He pledges himself that, if this government cordially agreed with that of the United States in establishing the immunity of neutrals from the oppressive right of search and seizure on suspicion, the cabinet at Washington will not hesitate to purchase so great a boon to peaceful trading vessels.

Now, then, before I sit down, let me ask you what is this people, about which so many men in England at this moment are writing, and speaking, and thinking, with harshness—I think with injustice, if not with great bitterness? Two centuries ago, multitudes of the people of this country found a refuge on the North American continent, escaping from the tyranny of the Stuarts and from the bigotry of Laud. Many noble spirits from our country made great experiments in favor of human freedom on that continent. Bancroft, the great historian of his own country, has said, in his own graphic and emphatic language, "The history of the colonization of America is the history of the crimes of Europe."

At this very moment, then, there are millions in the United States who personally, or whose immediate parents, have at one time been citizens of this country. They found a home in the far West; they subdued the wilderness; they met with plenty there, which was not afforded them in their native country; and they have become a great people. There may be persons in England who are jealous of those States. There may be men who dislike democracy, and who hate a republic; there may be even those whose sympathies warm toward the slave oligarchy of the South. But of this I am certain, that only misrepresentation the most gross or calumny the most wicked can sever the tie which unites the great mass of the people of this country with their friends and brethren beyond the Atlantic.

Now, whether the Union will be restored or not, or the South achieve an unhonored independence or not, I know not, and I predict not. But this I think I know—that in a few years, a very few years, the twenty millions of freemen

in the North will be thirty millions, or even fifty millions—a population equal to or exceeding that of this kingdom. When that time comes, I pray that it may not be said among them that, in the darkest hour of their country's trials, England, the land of their fathers, looked on with icy coldness and saw unmoved the perils and calamities of their children. As for me, I have but this to say: I am but one in this audience, and but one in the citizenship of this country; but if all other tongues are silent, mine shall speak for that policy which gives hope to the bondmen of the South, and which tends to generous thoughts, and generous words, and generous deeds, between the two great nations who speak the English language, and from their origin are alike entitled to the English name.

DANIEL O'CONNELL

THE REPEAL OF THE UNION

[Daniel O'Connell, an Irish orator and agitator, was born in County Kerry in 1775. He was educated by Roman Catholic teachers, became a barrister, and was drawn into public life by the agitation preceding and consequent upon the legislative union of England and his own country. This union he warmly assailed. His opposition was also aroused by the political disabilities of Roman Catholics in Ireland. A number of organizations were formed for the purpose of having such disabilities removed. An agitation within constitutional limits gradually spread over Ireland, which O'Connell directed and which attained proportions too great for the English government to cope with. The Catholic emancipation bill was passed, and O'Connell was enabled to take the seat in the House of Commons to which he had been elected, but which he could not previously hold on account of his religion. From this time O'Connell devoted his abilities to rent reform, the repeal of the act of union, and to the suppression of lawless tendencies among his followers. Notwithstanding the opposition of some Irish extremists, he retained his hold over his countrymen almost until his death, in 1846. The following speech was delivered at Mullaghmast, Ireland, in September, 1843. In the spring of that year a series of monster meetings had been started at Trim. Estimates of the multitude assembled on the Hill of Tara in August vary from 150,000 to 1,000,000. In the speech here given, O'Connell says that the numbers at Mullaghmast rivaled those at Tara.]

I ACCEPT with the greatest alacrity the high honor you have done me in calling me to the chair of this majestic meeting. I feel more honored than I ever did in my life, with one single exception, and that related to, if possible, an equally majestic meeting at Tara. But I must say that if a comparison were instituted between them, it would take a more discriminating eye than mine to discover any difference between them. There are the same incalculable numbers; there is the same firmness; there is the same determination; there is the same exhibition of love to old Ireland; there is the same resolution not to violate the peace; not to be guilty of the slightest outrage; not to give the enemy power by

committing a crime, but peacefully and manfully to stand together in the open day, to protest before man and in the presence of God against the iniquity of continuing the Union.

At Tara I protested against the Union—I repeat the protest at Mullaghmast. I declare solemnly my thorough conviction as a constitutional lawyer, that the Union is totally void in point of principle and of constitutional force. I tell you that no portion of the empire had the power to traffic on the rights and liberties of the Irish people. The Irish people nominated them to make laws, and not legislatures. They were appointed to act under the Constitution, and not annihilate it. Their delegation from the people was confined within the limits of the Constitution, and the moment the Irish Parliament went beyond those limits and destroyed the Constitution, that moment it annihilated its own power, but could not annihilate the immortal spirit of liberty which belongs, as a rightful inheritance, to the people of Ireland. Take it, then, from me that the Union is void.

I admit there is the force of a law, because it has been supported by the policeman's truncheon, by the soldier's bayonet, and by the horseman's sword; because it is supported by the courts of law and those who have power to adjudicate in them; but I say solemnly, it is not supported by constitutional right. The Union, therefore, in my thorough conviction, is totally void, and I avail myself of this opportunity to announce to several hundreds of thousands of my fellow subjects that the Union is an unconstitutional law and that it is not fated to last long—its hour is approaching. America offered us her sympathy and support. We refused the support, but we accepted the sympathy; and while we accepted the sympathy of the Americans, we stood upon the firm ground of the right of every human being to liberty; and I, in the name of the Irish nation, declare that no support obtained from America should be purchased by the price of abandoning principle for one moment, and that principle is that every human being is entitled to freedom.

My friends, I want nothing for the Irish but their country, and I think the Irish are competent to obtain their own country for themselves. I like to have the sympathy of every good man everywhere, but I want not armed support or

physical strength from any country. The Republican party in France offered me assistance. I thanked them for their sympathy, but I distinctly refused to accept any support from them. I want support from neither France nor America, and if that usurper, Louis Philippe, who trampled on the liberties of his own gallant nation, thought fit to assail me in his newspaper, I returned the taunt with double vigor, and I denounce him to Europe and the world as a treacherous tyrant, who has violated the compact with his own country, and therefore is not fit to assist the liberties of any other country.

I want not the support of France; I want not the support of America; I have physical support enough about me to achieve any change; but you know well that it is not my plan —I will not risk the safety of one of you. I could not afford the loss of one of you—I will protect you all, and it is better for you all to be merry and alive, to enjoy the repeal of the Union; but there is not a man of you there that would not, if we were attacked unjustly and illegally, be ready to stand in the open field by my side. Let every man that concurs in that sentiment lift up his hand.

The assertion of that sentiment is our sure protection; for no person will attack us, and we will attack nobody. Indeed, it would be the height of absurdity for us to think of making any attack; for there is not one man in his senses, in Europe or America, that does not admit that the repeal of the Union is now inevitable. The English papers taunted us, and their writers laughed us to scorn; but now they admit that it is impossible to resist the application for repeal. More power to you. But that even shows we have power enough to know how to use it. Why, it is only this week that one of the leading London newspapers, called the *Morning Herald*, which had a reporter at the Lismore meeting, published an account of that great and mighty meeting, and in that account the writer expressly says that it will be impossible to refuse so peaceable, so determined, so unanimous a people as the people of Ireland the restoration of their domestic legislature.

For my own part, I would have thought it wholly unnecessary to call together so large a meeting as this, but for the trick played by Wellington, and Peel, and Graham, and Stanley, and the rest of the paltry administration, by whose govern-

ment this country is disgraced. I do not suppose so worthless an administration ever before got together. Lord Stanley is a renegade from Whiggism, and Sir James Graham is worse. Sir Robert Peel has five hundred colors on his bad standard, and not one of them is permanent. To-day it is orange, to-morrow it will be green, the day after neither one nor the other, but we shall take care that it shall never be dyed in blood.

Then there is the poor old Duke of Wellington, and nothing was ever so absurd as their deification of him in England. The English historian—rather the Scotch one—Alison, an arrant Tory, admits that the Duke of Wellington was surprised at Waterloo, and if he got victoriously out of that battle, it was owing to the valor of the British troops and their unconquerable determination to die, but not to yield. No man is ever a good soldier but the man who goes into the battle determined to conquer or not come back from the battle-field. No other principle makes a good soldier; conquer or die is the battle-cry for the good soldier; conquer or die is his only security. The Duke of Wellington had troops at Waterloo that had learned that word, and there were Irish troops among them. You all remember the verses made by poor Shan Van Vocht:

> "At famed Waterloo
> Duke Wellington would look blue
> If Paddy was not there too,
> Says the Shan Van Vocht."

Yes, the glory he got there was bought by the blood of the English, Irish, and Scotch soldiers—the glory was yours. He is nominally a member of the administration, but yet they would not intrust him with any kind of office. He had no duty at all to perform, but a sort of Irish anti-repeal warden. I thought I never would be obliged to the ministry, but I am obliged to them. They put a speech abusing the Irish into the queen's mouth. They accused us of disaffection, but they lied; it is their speech; there is no disaffection in Ireland. We were loyal to the sovereigns of Great Britain, even when they were our enemies; we were loyal to George III. even when he betrayed us; we were loyal to George IV when

he blubbered and cried when we forced him to emancipate us; we were loyal to old Billy, though his minister put into his mouth a base, bloody, and intolerant speech against Ireland; and we are loyal to the queen, no matter what our enemies may say to the contrary. It is not the queen's speech, and I pronounce it to be a lie.

There is no dissatisfaction in Ireland, but there is this—a full determination to obtain justice and liberty. I am much obliged to the ministry for that speech, for it gives me, among other things, an opportunity of addressing such meetings as this. I had held the monster meetings. I had fully demonstrated the opinion of Ireland. I was convinced their unanimous determination to obtain liberty was sufficiently signified by the many meetings already held; but when the minister's speech came out, it was necessary to do something more. Accordingly, I called a monster meeting at Loughrea. I called another meeting in Cliffden. I had another monster meeting in Lismore, and here now we are assembled on the Rath of Mullaghmast.

O my friends, I will keep you clear of all treachery—there shall be no bargain, no compromise with England—we shall take nothing but repeal, and a Parliament in College Green. You will never, by my advice, confide in any false hopes they hold out to you; never confide in anything coming from them, or cease from your struggle, no matter what promise may be held to you, until you hear me say I am satisfied; and I will tell you where I will say that—near the statue of King William, in College Green. No; we came here to express our determination to die to a man, if necessary, in the cause of old Ireland. We came to take advice of each other, and, above all, I believe you came here to take my advice. I can tell you, I have the game in my hand—I have the triumph secure—I have the repeal certain, if you but obey my advice.

I will go slow—you must allow me to do so—but you will go sure. No man shall find himself imprisoned or persecuted who follows my advice. I have led you thus far in safety; I have swelled the multitude of repealers until they are identified with the entire population, or nearly the entire population, of the land, for seven-eighths of the Irish people are now enrolling themselves repealers. I do not want more

power; I have power enough; and all I ask of you is to allow me to use it. I will go on quietly and slowly, but I will go on firmly, and with a certainty of success. I am now arranging a plan for the formation of the Irish House of Commons.

It is a theory, but it is a theory that may be realized in three weeks. The repeal arbitrators are beginning to act; the people are submitting their differences to men chosen by themselves. You will see by the newspapers that Doctor Gray and my son, and other gentlemen, have already held a petty session of their own, where justice will be administered free of all expense to the people. The people shall have chosen magistrates of their own in the room of the magistrates who have been removed, The people shall submit their differences to them, and shall have strict justice administered to them that shall not cost them a single farthing. I shall go on with that plan until we have all the disputes settled and decided by justices appointed by the people themselves.

I wish to live long enough to have perfect justice administered to Ireland, and liberty proclaimed throughout the land. It will take me some time to prepare my plan for the formation of the new Irish House of Commons—that plan which we will yet submit to her majesty for her approval when she gets rid of her present paltry administration and has one that I can support. But I must finish that job before I go forth, and one of my reasons for calling you together is to state my intentions to you. Before I arrange my plan, the Conciliation Hall will be finished, and it will be worth any man's while to go from Mullaghmast to Dublin to see it.

When we have it arranged I will call together three hundred, as the "Times" called them, "bogtrotters," but better men never stepped on pavement. But I will have the three hundred, and no thanks to them. Wales is up at present, almost in a state of insurrection. The people there have found that the landlords' power is too great, and has been used tyrannically, and I believe you agree with them tolerably well in that. They insist on the sacredness of the right of the tenants to security of possession, and with the equity of tenure which I would establish we will do the landlords full justice, but we will do the people justice also. We will recollect that the land is the landlord's, and let him have the benefit of it, but we will also

recollect that the labor belongs to the tenant, and the tenant must have the value of his labor, not transitory and by the day, but permanently and by the year.

Yes, my friends, for this purpose I must get some time. I worked the present repeal year tolerably well. I believe no one in January last would believe that we could have such a meeting within the year as the Tara demonstration. You may be sure of this—and I say it in the presence of Him who will judge me—that I never will willfully deceive you. I have but one wish under heaven, and that is for the liberty and prosperity of Ireland. I am for leaving England to the English, Scotland to the Scotch; but we must have Ireland for the Irish. I will not be content until I see not a single man in any office, from the lowest constable to the lord chancellor, but Irishmen. This is our land, and we must have it. We will be obedient to the queen, joined to England by the golden link of the Crown, but we must have our Parliament, our own bench, our own magistrates, and we will give some of the *shoneens* who now occupy the bench leave to retire, such as those lately appointed by Sugden. He is a pretty boy, sent here from England; but I ask: Did you ever hear of such a name as he has got? I remember, in Wexford, a man told me he had a pig at home which he was so fond of that he would call it Sugden. No; we shall get judicial independence for Ireland. It is for this purpose we are assembled here to-day, as every countenance I see around me testifies. If there is any one here who is for the Union, let him say so. Is there anybody here for the repeal? [Cries of "All, all!"]

Yes, my friends, the Union was begot in iniquity—it was perpetuated in fraud and cruelty. It was no compact, no bargain, but it was an act of the most decided tyranny and corruption that was ever yet perpetrated. Trial by jury was suspended—the right of personal protection was at an end—courts-martial sat throughout the land—and the County of Kildare, among others, flowed with blood. We shall stand peaceably side by side in the face of every enemy. Oh, how delighted was I in the scenes which I witnessed as I came along here to-day! How my heart throbbed, how my spirit was elevated, how my bosom swelled with delight at the multitude which I beheld, and which I shall behold, of

the stalwart and strong men of Kildare! I was delighted at the activity and force that I saw around me, and my old heart grew warm again in admiring the beauty of the dark-eyed maids and matrons of Kildare. Oh, there is a star-light sparkling from the eye of a Kildare beauty that is scarcely equaled, and could not be excelled, all over the world. And remember that you are the sons, the fathers, the brothers, and the husbands of such women, and a traitor or a coward could never be connected with any of them. Yes, I am in a county, remarkable in the history of Ireland for its bravery and its misfortune, for its credulity in the faith of others, for its people judged of the Saxon by the honesty and honor of their own natures. I am in a county celebrated for the sacredness of shrines and fanes. I am in a county where the lamp of Kildare's holy shrine burned with its sacred fire, through ages of darkness and storm—that fire which for six centuries burned before the high altar without being extinguished, being fed continuously, without the slightest interruption, and it seemed to me to have been not an inapt representation of the continuous fidelity and religious love of country of the men of Kildare.

Yes, you have those high qualities—religious fidelity, continuous love of country. Even your enemies admit that the world has never produced any people that exceeded the Irish in activity and strength. The Scottish philosopher has declared, and the French philosopher has confirmed it, that number one in the human race is, blessed be Heaven, the Irishman. In moral virtue, in religion, in perseverance, and in glorious temperance, you excel. Have I any teetotalers here? Yes, it is teetotalism that is repealing the Union. I could not afford to bring you together, I would not dare to bring you together, but that I had the teetotalers for my police.

Yes, among the nations of the earth, Ireland stands number one in the physical strength of her sons and in the beauty and purity of her daughters. Ireland, land of my forefathers, how my mind expands, and my spirit walks abroad in something of majesty, when I contemplate the high qualities, inestimable virtues, and true purity and piety and religious fidelity of the inhabitants of your green fields and productive mountains. Oh, what a scene surrounds us! It is not only the

countless thousands of brave and active and peaceable and religious men that are here assembled, but Nature herself has written her character with the finest beauty in the verdant plains that surround us.

Let any man run around the horizon with his eye, and tell me if created nature ever produced anything so green and so lovely, so undulating, so teeming with production. The richest harvests that any land can produce are those reaped in Ireland; and then here are the sweetest meadows, the greenest fields, the loftiest mountains, the purest streams, the noblest rivers, the most capacious harbors—and her water power is equal to turn the machinery of the whole world. O my friends, it is a country worth fighting for—it is a country worth dying for; but, above all, it is a country worth being tranquil, determined, submissive, and docile for; disciplined as you are in obedience to those who are breaking the way, and trampling down the barriers between you and your constitutional liberty, I will see every man of you having a vote, and every man protected by the ballot from the agent or landlord. I will see labor protected, and every title to possession recognized, when you are industrious and honest. I will see prosperity again throughout your land—the busy hum of the shuttle and the tinkling of the smithy shall be heard again. We shall see the nailer employed even until the middle of the night, and the carpenter covering himself with his chips. I will see prosperity in all its gradations spreading through a happy, contented, religious land. I will hear the hymn of a happy people go forth at sunrise to God in praise of His mercies—and I will see the evening sun set down among the uplifted hands of a religious and free population. Every blessing that man can bestow and religion can confer upon the faithful heart shall spread throughout the land. Stand by me—join with me—I will say be obedient to me, and Ireland shall be free.

JOSEPH MAZZINI

TO THE YOUNG MEN OF ITALY

[Joseph Mazzini, an Italian patriot, was born in Genoa in 1808 He received a university education, took up the study of law and literature, and began to practice as a lawyer in his native town. Interesting himself in journalism and public affairs, he gradually formed his conception of "young Italy," and took up as his life work the unity, independence, and freedom of his country. Mazzini's activities, although they led to the accomplishment of his patriotic ends, led also to his own exile, and after many vicissitudes he made London a sort of headquarters for the propagation of his collectivist political philosophy. This philosophy, animated by a lofty humanitarianism, is set forth in such essays as "Europe, its Condition and Prospects," and "Renan and France." Mazzini died in Italy, in 1872. The following address was delivered at Milan, in 1848, occasioned by the execution of the brothers Bandiera, Italians, who had plotted against the Neopolitan government.]

When I was commissioned by you, young men, to proffer in this temple a few words sacred to the memory of the brothers Bandiera and their fellow martyrs at Cosenza, I thought that some of those who heard me might exclaim with noble indignation: "Wherefore lament over the dead? The martyrs of liberty are only worthily honored by winning the battle they have begun; Cosenza, the land where they fell, is enslaved; Venice, the city of their birth, is begirt by foreign foes. Let us emancipate them, and until that moment let no words pass our lips save words of war."

But another thought arose: "Why have we not conquered? Why is it that, while we are fighting for independence in the north of Italy, liberty is perishing in the south? Why is it that a war, which should have sprung to the Alps with the bound of a lion has dragged itself along for four months, with the slow uncertain motion of the scorpion surrounded by a circle of fire? How has the rapid and powerful intuition of a people newly arisen to life been converted into the weary help-

less effort of the sick man turning from side to side? Ah! had we all arisen in the sanctity of the idea for which our martyrs died; had the holy standard of their faith preceded our youth to battle; had we reached that unity of life which was in them so powerful, and made of our every action a thought, and of our every thought an action; had we devoutly gathered up their last words in our hearts, and learned from them that liberty and independence are one; that God and the people, the fatherland and humanity, are the two inseparable terms of the device of every people striving to become a nation; that Italy can have no true life till she be one, holy in equality and love of all her children, great in the worship of eternal truth, and consecrated to a lofty mission, a moral priesthood among the peoples of Europe—we should now have had, not war, but victory; Cosenza would not be compelled to venerate the memory of her martyrs in secret, nor Venice be restrained from honoring them with a monument; and we, gathered here together, might gladly invoke their sacred names, without uncertainty as to our future destiny, or a cloud of sadness on our brows, and say to those precursor souls: 'Rejoice! for your spirit is incarnate in your brethren, and they are worthy of you.'"

The idea which they worshiped, young men, does not as yet shine forth in its full purity and integrity upon your banner. The sublime program which they, dying, bequeathed to the rising Italian generation, is yours; but multilated, broken up into fragments by the false doctrines, which, elsewhere overthrown, have taken refuge amongst us. I look around, and I see the struggles of desperate populations, an alternation of generous rage and of unworthy repose; of shouts for freedom and of formulæ of servitude, throughout all parts of our peninsula; but the soul of the country, where is it? What unity is there in this unequal and manifold movement—where is the word that should dominate the hundred diverse and opposing counsels which mislead or seduce the multitude? I hear phrases usurping the national omnipotence—"the Italy of the north—the league of the states—federative compacts between princes,"—but Italy, where is it? Where is the common country, the country which the Bandiera hailed as thrice initiatrix of a new era of European civilization?

Intoxicated with our first victories, improvident for the future, we forgot the idea revealed by God to those who suffered; and God has punished our forgetfulness by deferring our triumph. The Italian movement, my countrymen, is, by decree of Providence, that of Europe. We arise to give a pledge of moral progress to the European world. But neither political fictions, nor dynastic aggrandizements, nor theories of expediency, can transform or renovate the life of the peoples. Humanity lives and moves through faith; great principles are the guiding stars that lead Europe towards the future. Let us turn to the graves of our martyrs, and ask inspiration of those who died for us all, and we shall find the secret of victory in the adoration of a faith. The angel of martyrdom and the angel of victory are brothers; but the one looks up to heaven, and the other looks down to earth; and it is when, from epoch to epoch, their glances meet between earth and heaven, that creation is embellished with a new life, and a people arises from the cradle or the tomb, evangelist or prophet.

I will sum up for you in a few words this faith of our martyrs; their external life is known to you all; it is now a matter of history and I need not recall it to you.

The faith of the brothers Bandiera, which was and is our own, was based upon a few simple uncontrovertible truths, which few, indeed, venture to declare false, but which are nevertheless forgotten or betrayed by most:—

God and the People.

God at the summit of the social edifice; the people, the universality of our brethren, at the base. God, the Father and Educator; the people, the progressive interpreter of his law.

No true society can exist without a common belief and a common aim. Religion declares the belief and the aim. Politics regulate society in the practical realization of that belief, and prepare the means of attaining that aim. Religion represents the principle, politics the application. There is but one sun in heaven for all the earth. There is one law for all those who people the earth. It is alike the law of the human being and of collective humanity. We are placed here below, not for the capricious exercise of our own individual faculties,—our faculties and liberty are the means, not the end,—not to work out our own happiness upon the earth; happiness can

only be reached elsewhere, and there God works for us; but to consecrate our existence to the discovery of a portion of the Divine law; to practice it as far as our individual circumstances and powers allow, and to diffuse the knowledge and love of it among our brethren.

We are here below to labor fraternally to build up the unity of the human family, so that the day may come when it shall represent a single sheepfold with a single shepherd,—the spirit of God, the Law.

To aid our search after truth, God has given to us tradition and the voice of our own conscience. Wherever they are opposed, is error. To attain harmony and consistence between the conscience of the individual and the conscience of humanity, no sacrifice is too great. The family, the city, the fatherland, and humanity, are but different spheres in which to exercise our activity and our power of sacrifice towards this great aim. God watches from above the inevitable progress of humanity, and from time to time he raises up the great in genius, in love, in thought, or in action, as priests of his truth, and guides to the multitude on their way.

These principles,—indicated in their letters, in their proclamations, and in their conversations,—with a profound sense of the mission intrusted by God to the individual and to humanity, were to Attilio and Emilio Bandiera and their fellow martyrs the guide and comfort of a weary life; and, when men and circumstances had alike betrayed them, these principles sustained them in death, in religious serenity and calm certainty of the realization of their immortal hopes for the future of Italy. The immense energy of their souls arose from the intense love which informed their faith. And could they now arise from the grave and speak to you, they would, believe me, address you, though with a power very different from that which is given to me, in counsel not unlike this which I now offer to you.

Love! love is the flight of the soul towards God; towards the great, the sublime, and the beautiful, which are the shadow of God upon earth. Love your family, the partner of your life, those around you ready to share your joys and sorrows; love the dead who are dear to you and to whom you were dear. But let your love be the love taught you by Dante and by us—

the love of souls that aspire together; do not grovel on the earth in search of a felicity which it is not the destiny of the creature to reach here below; do not yield to a delusion which inevitably would degrade you into egotism. To love is to give and take a promise for the future. God has given us love, that the weary soul may give and receive support upon the way of life. It is a flower springing up on the path of duty; but it cannot change its course. Purify, strengthen, and improve yourselves by loving. Act always—even at the price of increasing her earthly trials—so that the sister soul united to your own may never need, here or elsewhere, to blush through you or for you. The time will come when, from the height of a new life, embracing the whole past and comprehending its secrets, you will smile together at the sorrows you have endured, the trials you have overcome.

Love your country. Your country is the land where your parents sleep, where is spoken that language in which the chosen of your heart, blushing, whispered the first word of love; it is the home that God has given you, that by striving to perfect yourselves therein, you may prepare to ascend to him. It is your name, your glory, your sign among the people. Give to it your thoughts, your counsels, your blood. Raise it up, great and beautiful as it was foretold by our great men, and see that you leave it uncontaminated by any trace of falsehood or of servitude; unprofaned by dismemberment. Let it be one, as the thought of God. You are twenty-five millions of men, endowed with active, splendid faculties; possessing a tradition of glory the envy of the nations of Europe. An immense future is before you; you lift your eyes to the loveliest heaven, and around you smiles the loveliest land in Europe; you are encircled by the Alps and the sea, boundaries traced out by the finger of God for a people of giants—you are bound to be such, or nothing. Let not a man of that twenty-five millions remain excluded from the fraternal bond destined to join you together; let not a glance be raised to that heaven which is not the glance of a free man. Let Rome be the ark of your redemption, the temple of your nation. Has she not twice been the temple of the destinies of Europe? In Rome two extinct worlds, the Pagan and the Papal, are superposed like the double jewels of

a diadem; draw from these a third world greater than the two. From Rome, the holy city, the city of love (Amor), the purest and wisest among you, elected by the vote and fortified by the inspiration of a whole people, shall dictate the pact that shall make us one, and represent us in the future alliance of the peoples. Until then you will either have no country or have her contaminated or profaned.

Love humanity. You can only ascertain your own mission from the aim set by God before humanity at large. God has given you your country as cradle, and humanity as mother; you cannot rightly love your brethren of the cradle if you love not the common mother. Beyond the Alps, beyond the sea, are other peoples now fighting or preparing to fight the holy fight of independence, of nationality, of liberty; other peoples striving by different routes to reach the same goal—improvement, association, and the foundation of an authority which shall put an end to moral anarchy and relink earth to heaven; an authority which mankind may love and obey without remorse or shame. Unite with them; they will unite with you. Do not invoke their aid where your single arm will suffice to conquer; but say to them that the hour will shortly sound for a terrible struggle between right and blind force, and that in that hour you will ever be found with those who have raised the same banner as yourselves.

And love, young men, love and venerate the ideal. The ideal is the word of God. High above every country, high above humanity, is the country of the spirit, the city of the soul, in which all are brethren who believe in the inviolability of thought and in the dignity of our immortal soul; and the baptism of this fraternity is martyrdom. From that high sphere spring the principles which alone can redeem the peoples. Arise for the sake of these, and not from impatience of suffering or dread of evil. Anger, pride, ambition, and the desire of material prosperity are arms common alike to the peoples and their oppressors, and even should you conquer with these to-day, you would fall again to-morrow; but principles belong to the peoples alone, and their oppressors can find no arms to oppose them. Adore enthusiasm, the dreams of the virgin soul, and the visions of early youth, for they are a perfume of paradise which the soul retains in issuing from the

hands of its Creator. Respect above all things your conscience; have upon your lips the truth implanted by God in your heart, and, while laboring in harmony, even with those who differ from you, in all that tends to the emancipation of your soil, yet ever bear your own banner erect and boldly promulgate your own faith.

Such words, young men, would the martyrs of Cosenza have spoken, had they been living amongst you; and here, where it may be that, invoked by our love, their holy spirits hover near us, I call upon you to gather them up in your hearts and to make of them a treasure amid the storms that yet threaten you; storms which, with the name of our martyrs on your lips and their faith in your hearts, you will overcome.

God be with you, and bless Italy!

COUNT CAMILLO BENSO DI CAVOUR

ROME AND ITALY

[Count Camillo Benso di Cavour, an Italian statesman, styled "the regenerator of Italy," was born at Turin in 1810, of an ancient and noble family. He received a military education, but resigned from the army shortly after receiving a commission, and devoted himself to the advancement of those ideas of a unified Italy which he was destined to realize so brilliantly. Becoming the recognized exponent of Sardinian policy, he held in turn the portfolios of agriculture and commerce, of finance, and of the navy, and for nine years he was premier. He settled the Roman clerical question by pronouncing in favor of complete separation of church and state, and he paved the way for the meeting at Turin of the first Italian parliament. Having thus completed his life work by the establishment of a practically united country—for Rome and Venice were secured to the new kingdom in a very short time—Cavour was preparing a general Italian policy when death cut short his career in 1861. The speech given here is one of his most eloquent appeals to the people in favor of a unified Italy, and was made in 1861, shortly before his death.]

Rome should be the capital of Italy. There can be no solution of the Roman question without the acceptance of this premise by Italy and by all Europe. If any one could conceive of a united Italy with any degree of stability, and without Rome for its capital, I would declare the Roman question difficult, if not impossible, of solution. And why have we the right, the duty, of insisting that Rome shall be united to Italy? Because without Rome as the capital of Italy, Italy cannot exist.

This truth, being felt instinctively by all Italians, being asserted abroad by all who judge Italian affairs impartially, needs no demonstration, but is upheld by the judgment of the nation.

And yet, gentlemen, this truth is susceptible of a very simple proof. Italy has still much to do before it will rest

upon a stable basis, much to do in solving the grave problems raised by her unification; much to do in overcoming all the obstacles which time-honored traditions oppose to this great undertaking. And if this end must be compassed, it is essential that there be no cause of dissidence, of failure. Until the question of the capital of Italy is determined, there will be endless discords among the different provinces.

It is easy to understand how persons of good faith, cultured and talented, are now suggesting, some on historical, some on artistic grounds, and also for many other reasons, the advisability of establishing the capital in some other city of Italy. Such a discussion is quite comprehensible now, but if Italy already had her capital in Rome, do you think this question would be even possible? Assuredly not. Even those who are now opposed to transferring the capital to Rome, if it were once established there, would not dream of removing it. Therefore, it is only by proclaiming Rome the capital of Italy that we can put an end to these dissensions among ourselves.

I am grieved that men of eminence, men of genius, men who have rendered glorious service to the cause of Italian unity, should drag this question into the fields of debate, and there discuss it with (dare I say it?) puerile arguments. The question of the capital, gentlemen, is not determined by climate, by topography, nor even by strategical considerations. If these things affected the selection, I think I may safely say that London would not be the capital of England, nor, perhaps, Paris of France. The selection of the capital is determined by great moral reasons. It is the will of the people that decides this question touching them so closely.

In Rome, gentlemen, are united all the circumstances, whether historic, intellectual, or moral, that should determine the site of the capital of a great state. Rome is the only city with traditions not purely local. The entire history of Rome, from the time of Cæsar to the present day, is the history of a city whose importance reaches far beyond her confines; a city destined to be one of the capitals of the world. Convinced, profoundly convinced, of this truth, I feel constrained to declare it solemnly to you and to the nation, and I feel bound to appeal in this matter to the patriotism of every

citizen of Italy, and to the representatives of her most eminent cities, that discussions may cease, and that he who represents the nation before other powers may be able to proclaim that the necessity of having Rome as the capital is recognized by all the nation. I think I am justified in making this appeal even to those who, for reasons which I respect, differ with me on this point. Yet more: I can assume no Spartan indifference in the matter. I say frankly that it will be a deep grief to me to tell my native city that she must renounce resolutely and definitively all hope of being the seat of government.

Yes, gentlemen, as far as I am personally concerned, it is no pleasure to go to Rome. Having little artistic taste, I feel sure that in the midst of the splendid monuments of ancient and modern Rome I will lament the plain and unpoetic streets of my native town. But one thing I can say with confidence: Knowing the character of my fellow citizens, knowing from actual facts how ready they have always been to make the greatest sacrifices for the sacred cause of Italy, knowing their willingness to make sacrifices when their city was invaded by the enemy, and their promptness and energy in its defense—knowing all this, I have no fear that they will not uphold me when, in their name and as their deputy, I say that Turin is ready to make this great sacrifice in the interests of united Italy.

I am comforted by the hope—I may even say the certainty —that when Italy shall have established the seat of government in the Eternal City, she will not be ungrateful to this land which was the cradle of liberty; to this land in which was sown that germ of independence which, maturing rapidly and branching out, has now reached forth its tendrils from Sicily to the Alps.

I have said and I repeat: Rome, and Rome only, should be the capital of Italy.

But here begin the difficulties of the problem. We must go to Rome, but there are two conditions: We must go there in concert with France, otherwise the union of Rome with the rest of Italy will be interpreted by the great mass of Catholics, within Italy and without, as the signal of the slavery of the church. We must go, therefore, to Rome in such a way that the true independence of the pontiff will not be

diminished. We must go to Rome, but the civil power must not extend to spiritual things. These are the two conditions that must be fulfilled if this united Italy is to exist.

As to the first, it would be folly, in the present condition of affairs in Europe, to think of going to Rome in the face of the opposition of France. Yet more: even if, through events which I believe improbable and impossible, France were reduced to a condition which forbade material interference with our actions, we should none the less avoid uniting Rome to the rest of Italy, if, by so doing, we caused loss to our allies.

We have contracted a great debt toward France. I do not claim that the narrow moral code which affects individual actions should be applied *ad literam* to international relations. Still there are certain moral principles which even nations may not violate with impunity.

I know that many diplomats profess contrary views. I remember hearing a famous Austrian statesman applauded a few years ago when he laughingly declared that in a short time Austria would astound Europe by her ingratitude to Russia. As a matter of fact, Austria kept her word; you already know, and if you do not I can testify to the fact, that at the Congress of Paris no power showed more hostility to Russia or tried harder to aggravate the conditions of peace than Austria, whose sword had done nothing toward imposing peace upon her old ally. But, gentlemen, the violation of that great moral principle did not go unpunished. After a few years Russia had her revenge; and we should be glad of it, for I do not hesitate to attribute to the unforgotten ingratitude of Austria the facility with which friendly relations were established between Russia and ourselves, relations now unfortunately interrupted but, I hope without changing the feelings of Russia for Italy, and without any alteration of the sympathy for us which has always dwelt in the bosom of the Czar.

Gentlemen, we have an even graver motive for coöperating with France. When, in 1859, we invoked French aid, when the emperor consented to descend into Italy at the head of his legions, he made no secret of his pledges to the court of Rome. We accepted his aid without protest against those

pledges. Now, after reaping such advantages from that alliance, we can protest against the pledges only to a certain point. But then, you will object, the solution of the Roman question is impossible!

I answer: If the second of our conditions is fulfilled, the first will offer few obstacles. That is, if we can so act that the reunion of Rome to Italy does not cause alarm to Catholic society. By Catholic society I mean the great mass of people who profess religious belief from conviction and not for political ends, and who are free from vulgar prejudices. If, I say, we can persuade the great mass of Catholics that the uniting of Rome to Italy can be accomplished without sacrificing the liberty of the church, the problem will, I think, be solved.

We must not deceive ourselves; there are many who, while not prejudiced against Italy nor against liberal ideas, yet fear that, if Rome were united to Italy, the seat of Italian government established there and the king seated in the Quirinal, the pontiff would lose both dignity and independence; they fear that the pope, instead of being the head of Catholicism, would be reduced to the rank of grand almoner or head chaplain.

If these fears were well founded, if the fall of the temporal power would really have this consequence, I would not hesitate to say that the union of Rome to the Italian state would be fatal not only to Catholicism, but to the existence of Italy itself. Yet further, I can imagine no greater misfortune for a cultured people than to see in the hands of its rulers not only the civil, but also the religious power.

The history of centuries proves to us that wherever this union was consummated civilization immediately ceased to advance and, therefore, necessarily began to retrograde; the most detestable of despotisms followed, and this whether a caste of priests usurped the temporal power, or a caliph or sultan seized control of things spiritual. Everywhere this fatal union has produced the same result; God forbid that it should ever be so here! . . .

When these doctrines have received the solemn sanction of the national parliament, when it will be no longer lawful to doubt the feelings of Italians, when it is clear to the

world that they are not hostile to the religion of their fathers, but wish to preserve this religion in their country, when it is no longer necessary to show them how to prosper and to develop their resources by combating a power which was an obstacle, not only to the reorganization of Italy but also to the spread of Catholicity, I believe that the greater part of Catholic society will absolve the Italians, and will place where it belongs the responsibility of the fatal struggle which the pope insists upon waging against the country in whose midst he lives.

But God avert this fatal chance! At the risk of being considered utopian, I believe that when the proclamation of the principles which I have just declared, and when the indorsement of them that you will give, are known and considered at Rome and in the Vatican, I believe, I say, that those Italian fibers which the reactionary party has, as yet, been unable to remove from the heart of Pius IX will again vibrate, and there will be accomplished the greatest act that any people have yet performed. And so it will be given to the same generation to have restored a nation, and to have done what is yet greater, yet more sublime, an act of which the influence is incalculable, that is, to have reconciled the papacy with the civil power, to have made peace between church and state, between the spirit of religion and the great principles of liberty. Yes, I hope that it will be given us to compass these two great acts, which will most assuredly carry to the most distant posterity the worthiness of the present generation of Italians.

EMILIO CASTELAR

A PLEA FOR REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS

[Emilio Castelar, a Spanish statesman, orator, and writer, was born in Cadiz in 1832. He received a legal education and entered journalism, his sympathies in public affairs being from the beginning with the popular party. Appointed a professor in the University of Madrid, he acquired great influence over the youth of Spain by his writings at first and later by his eloquence. The prominent part he took in the Spanish uprising in 1866 forced him to leave the country, but the revolution two years later enabled him to return. He was now the recognized head of the Spanish republican movement, being made minister of foreign affairs and later (1873-1874) president, with dictatorial powers. The republican government was unable to survive Castelar's resignation of office, however, and when monarchy was restored he retired to private life. His later years were devoted to literature and occasional public activities, and under Alfonso XII, he was even elected to the Cortes Among his works may be mentioned "History of the Republican Movement in Europe," "Historical Studies of the Middle Ages," and several volumes of addresses and speeches. He died in 1899. The speech following was made in the Cortes in 1869.]

Before replying to Minister Sagasta's speech of last Saturday, I desire to say that my public life forbids me to defend myself against personal attacks such as the gentleman seems to delight in. The minister of government was extremely kind in speaking of my address as a brilliant one, and extremely severe when he declared that it was wanting in truth. Neither criticism was just. Gentlemen, I would not have to defend my own speeches if they had the resplendency and the beauty attributed to them by Mr. Sagasta. I would be content to let them shine, confident, with the most eloquent and greatest of ancient philosophers, that "beauty is the resplendency of truth." After all, if there is any grand quality in this assembly it is eloquence, the expressing of grand sentiments and sublime ideas in fervent language. I have heard such speeches come from every side of the assembly, and I would like to hear one, in the language of

moderation, from the government. Discussions carried on in that manner, with eloquence and good judgment, give us hope for the future, for the laws of history do not permit a dictatorship to fasten itself upon a people whose faces are lighted by the fires of eloquence—a sure sign of great apostolic work in social life.

I have said this, not being able to proceed without repelling a calumnious imputation directed against me by the minister of government. To a question of Mr. Oria relative to an attack on property, the gentleman replied that it was the work of the Federalists. In what article, in what proclamation, in what program, in what bulletin, in what periodical, in what speech of a Federalist has the gentleman discovered that we attack property? Against the robbers are the courts and the judges, and it is an imposition on the assembly and a calumny on our social conditions to charge us with such crimes and to seek to spatter this minority with the mud that bespatters all of you. This is not just.

Now, I must answer with calmness another slanderous imputation. The minister of government says that the Federal Republican party desired the dismemberment, the dissolution, the breaking up of this country. A party that aspires to a European confederation, a party that desires to see the abominable word "war" abolished, a party that desires to unite disunited people, cannot seek the dismemberment of a country bound together by tradition and law. We desire that from Barcelona to Lisbon, from Irun to Cadiz, there shall be but one flag—a flag, however, under whose folds the citizen may have freedom, the municipality autonomy, and the province rights that belong to the whole country. The accusation of the gentleman reminds me of the one concerning decentralization made by the Moderate party against the Progressive party, and the claim of the Moderates that with decentralization national unity was impossible. Notwithstanding this claim, it is generally believed to-day that people who suffer most in their independence have a centralized government, because it is enough to aim a blow at their head, like the blow aimed by the allied powers in Paris in 1815. The belief is general that those nations that have great internal dissensions are centralized nations, because they have

an apoplectic head on a weak, stiff body. And so I say that, as centralization is believed in to-day, federation will be to-morrow—a federation the belief in which will result sooner or later in the organizaton of the United States of Spain within the United States of Europe.

Mr. Sagasta began to defend the dictatorship, and in defending it he drew an awful picture of our social condition, talking of crimes and criminals, and telling you that our education in the past was very bad, and that the corruption of to-day is very great. And what have the republicans to see from that? For three centuries, yes, more than three centuries, our church has been as an enemy to the human conscience. For many centuries it has been inimical to the national will. Consequently, if there is anything very bad or vicious here to-day, it is owing to institutions with which we have nothing to do. And more, this evil, this viciousness, owe their existence to a lack of respect among the people for the law. And this lack of respect for the law is born of the systematic abuse of power by our arbitrary government. Judges nominated by a party and appointed to revise the electoral lists; schools, so called, for filling convents and military barracks; the jury outlawed; public life closed to the democracy; political corruption extending from above down in all directions—this is the product, and these the products, of the sore and wounded people painted by Mr. Sagasta; people who are the natural offspring of a long heredity of crime and error. It is impossible to cure the people if the system is not changed. . . .

Well, deputies, what form of government has come to Spain since the September revolution? The republican form has come and is still here. It so happens that you have not been able to implant monarchical institutions in its place. After having been fifteen days in power you declared yourselves for the monarchy. Did the monarchy come? After the elections you declared yourselves monarchists and us outlaws. Did you create the monarchy in the primaries? When the assembly convened, the monarchy was proposed; there we have had great battles. Has the monarchy been established? The Conservatives, although they have not said so, have, I believe, agreed upon a candidate; the Radicals, more loqua-

cious, have told us theirs; but have you, separated or united, produced a monarchy?

The Conservatives have a candidate who really represents the latest privilege granted the middle classes. Why is it that they do not bring him here? Because they know that this is a democratic monarchy, based, as it is supposably, on universal suffrage, and because the candidate has not, never had, and never will have, the votes, the indorsement, the backing of the people. And you? You want a monarchy to keep up appearances, a monarchy in order that Europe may say, "See how prudent, how God-fearing, how wise, how intelligent are the Spaniards; they have a disguised republic!" After a provisional government and a provisional regency you want a provisional monarchy also. You do not expect or want to be strong in the right, in liberty, in the will of the people, or in national sovereignty. All you want is a king who shall represent the predominance and the egotism of a party. You ought to know that, as a candidate of the Conservatives cannot come here without the consent of the people, your candidate cannot come here without the consent of the Conservatives. Do you believe that your candidate will last if all the Conservative forces do not support him? Notwithstanding all that the Conservatives have declared to their representatives here, not one of them has said that he renounces his dynastic faith. Therefore, deputies, you cannot establish the monarchy.

On Saturday I pictured to you, in colors more or less vivid, the prestige which monarchical institutions have enjoyed in our country, and for this the minister of state upbraided me without understanding my arguments. I ask you to concentrate your attention for a moment upon the parallel which I am going to present, and which may be called a summary of this speech. I said the other afternoon that to establish monarchical institutions it was necessary to possess monarchical faith and sentiment. One must have the poetry and the traditions of monarchy. I said this because I know that, although the assembly and the official authorities can make laws, they cannot decree ideas or sentiments, those real and solid foundations of institutions. Formerly, in other times, kings were representative of the national dignity, and now

from those same benches we have heard that they sold their native soil to a foreigner, and even prostrated themselves at his feet, the people in the meantime answering the enemy with the second of May and the siege of Saragossa. Formerly poetry, addressing the throne, exclaimed:—

"Oh! what a profound abyss
Of iniquity and malice
The mighty of the world
Have made of your justice!"

Formerly art sketched the apotheosis of Charles V with Titian's brush, or the ladies-in-waiting of Philip VI with the brush of Velasquez; now it sketches the image of the communists, of the victims of Charles V, or the ship in which the Puritans took the republic to the bosom of virgin America. Formerly, the gala days of the people were the birthdays of kings and the anniversaries of the beginning of their reigns. Now, the great days of celebration are the tenth of August, the thirtieth of July, the twenty-fourth of February, and the twenty-ninth of September, days marking the expulsion of kings. Formerly, when the navigator landed in America, or an explorer went into the interior of a new country, the purest piece of gold, the largest pearl, the clearest diamond was reserved for the king. Now, your minister of the treasury claims from the king even the clasp which holds the royal mantle about his shoulders. I will not continue this parallel, as the chamber clearly sees the application.

What does this mean? What does it signify? If the throne has fallen, if the throne is broken, if the throne is dishonored, if the throne cannot be restored, conservatives, unionists, progressists, democrats, repeat with the poet:—

"Mankind, weep;
All of you laid your hands on him."

As there is no possibility of establishing the monarchy, as no candidate acceptable to all can be found, it is necessary, it is indispensable to get rid of the suspense, and I say that we shall establish a republic. Have you not said that the forms of government are accidental? Gentlemen, you know the republic I want. It is a federal republic. I shall

always defend the federal republic. I am a federal, but, deputies, understand one thing, the republic is a form of government which admits many conditions, and which has many grades. From the republic of Venice to that of Switzerland there is an immense scale. Adjoining Mexico, where church and state are separated, there is Guatemala, where the clergy have great power. Close to the decentralized and federal Argentine Republic is the Chilian Republic, another decentralized country enjoying great prosperity, its paper money being quoted in all the markets of Europe as high as that of England. Consequently, deputies, amid this great affliction and this great trouble and this unstable equilibrium which surrounds you, you can establish a form of government which is of the people and for the people, a form of government in harmony with the institutions you have proclaimed, and with the sentiment which all of you guard in the bottom of your hearts.

Have you not seen in history the inability of an assembly or any power to establish a form of government in conflict with great ideas? Remember the eighteenth century. Never had a monarchy attained more power, never was absolutism so strong, never was the destruction of obstacles in the way of kings more complete. Philosophy ascended the throne with them, ascended with Charles III and Aranda and Tombal. It ascended with Joseph I, with Frederick the Great, with Leopold of Tuscany. All seemed to conspire to establish the same idea, the idea of a philosophy and a liberalism. And did they succeed? No, they were the Baptists of the Revolution. They repented late, and the philosophy they had thrown at the feet of the thrones came to naught. And what happened. Some were sentenced by the assembly. The crowns of divine right were melted into cannon balls by the soldiers of the Revolution. What does this signify? That great powers cannot place absolutism above philosophy any more than you can build monarchical institutions on individual rights. Therefore, I beseech you to establish the republic. You are assured of our patriotism, our great interest in the country, our abnegation. Cato committed suicide because he found a Cæsar. Radicals of Spain, do not commit suicide because you cannot find a monarch. I have spoken.

LÉON GAMBETTA

ADDRESS TO THE DELEGATES FROM ALSACE

[Léon Gambetta, a French statesman of marked eloquence, was born in Cahors in 1838. He became a lawyer in Paris, and while defending a political prisoner made a speech against the empire of the third Napoleon that won him celebrity. He was elected deputy on a radical platform, opposed the war with Germany, and on the fall of the empire proclaimed the third French Republic, becoming a member of the government of national defense. He escaped from Paris in a balloon during the siege, assumed what amounted to a dictatorship, but relinquished power when order was assured, and founded a newspaper to disseminate his republican principles. Repeatedly elected to the Chamber of Deputies, of which he became president, Gambetta was the soul of republican France, which he more than once saved by his energy and eloquence. He died in 1882. The following speech was delivered in 1873, on receiving a bronze statuette from his admirers in Alsace. To-day Alsace is reunited to France. The republic has survived, and Gambetta's words will arouse far different associations from those of fifty years ago, yet how noble and admirable is this speech of hopefulness made at a moment of national humiliation.]

On receiving from your hands this testimonial of the indissoluble bonds of solidarity which unite to each other the various members of the great French family—for the moment, alas, separated as you say—I know not which feeling touches me more poignantly, the sentiment of gratitude or that of grief.

It is truly terrible to think that it is on the day on which we are negotiating, for a golden price,—hard and necessary results of our defeats—the evacuation of our departments, to think that this lesson, this last exhortation, are given us by you. I feel all the grief which you experience in being obliged to count, to weigh, to postpone your hopes. I realize that you have need, as we have, to tell yourselves that you will not give way to it. I well know that you are right in repeating to yourselves that constancy is one of the quali-

ties of your race. Ah! it is from that very circumstance that our dear Alsace was particularly necessary to French unity. She represented among us, by the side of that mobility and lightness, which unfortunately, at certain moments mar our national character, she represented, I say, an invincible energy. And on this great pathway of invasion she was always found the first and the last to defend the fatherland!

It is for that reason, that as long as she returns not to the family, we may justly say there is neither a France nor a Europe.

But the hour is serious and full of difficulties, and it is greatly to be feared that if we give ear only to things which excite our patriotism and to bitter remembrances which recall us to impossible struggles, to the sentiment of our isolation in the world, to the memory of the weaknesses which have overwhelmed us—we shall go to some extreme, and compromise a cause which we might better serve.

Yes, in our present meeting, what ought to be reported and repeated to the constituents who have chosen me—who have saluted in me, the last one to protest, and to defend their rights and their honor,—is by no means a word of excitement or enthusiasm, but rather a message of resignation, albeit of active resignation.

We must take account of the state of France, we must look it squarely in the face. At the present hour the Republic, which you associate and always have associated not only with the defense of the fatherland, but also with her upraising and regeneration, the Republic, I say, claims the allegiance of some from necessity, of others from interest, and of the generality of sensible people, from sentiments of patriotism.

People in France are beginning to understand that all that has happened is the result of successive monarchies, and that it would be wrong to hold the latest of the despotisms through which we have passed responsible for everything. The evil dates far backward, and from the first day when the Republic succumbed to the saber of a soldier. Other *régimes* have followed, which have done nothing to purify and uplift the national heart and keep it on a level with events.

It is on this account, gentlemen, that we can truly say that the republican sentiment is a veritably national one, because

it testifies that all the monarchy has done in this country, even in a liberal sense, all its tentative remedies, all its half measures, were equivocal and weakened the national sentiment, in that they were done for the benefit of a class, leaving others outside; and were not addressed to the whole country. Thus they blighted in the bud all patriotism. So when it became necessary for all to be patriots, sad to say, many failed in their duty.

To-day, under the stress of events and the great struggles of which we have been the victims, France has learned —so, at least, we may believe from recent and decisive manifestations—that the Republic is henceforward to be regarded as the common pledge of the rebirth of our nation's material and moral forces.

This great result could only have been obtained by means of reserve and prudence. The Republic could gain intellectual assent, conciliate interests, make progress in the general conscience, only by means of moderation among republicans, by proving to the majority of the indifferent, that only in this way is the spirit of order, of civil peace, and of progress peacefully and rationally to be obtained.

This demonstration is now merely commencing. We must follow it up, continue it. Especially must tardy convictions be made absolute. These have assisted us for some time, but in their turn may confirm the convictions of others, on which we have not counted, and which, gradually, under the influence of a continuous republican agitation, are transformed and enlarged, and become the general convictions of all.

We are favored by the circumstances of the hour. I do not mean that we ought to count on this to do everything, but we must take account of the fact and use it to solicit from all the spirit of concord, the spirit of union, and above all, the spirit of resignation and sacrifice. Ah! it is indeed cruel to ask of these brothers, harshly abandoned, the spirit of sacrifice and resignation, and yet it is of these that we make the supreme demand that they will not harass the country in her travail of reconstruction. And just as yours has been the section in which the greatest numbers have taken arms for the national defense, just as you have given your children and your gold, just as you have borne for the longest

period, bullets, fire, bombs, and the exactions of the enemy, so during this unhappy peace you must give to France the example of a population able to preserve its sentiments without rushing to extremes, without provoking an intervention.

You owe to the Mother Country the supreme consolation of learning that, however impotent you may be to aid her, your heart is unconquerably attached to her. And I know you will exhibit towards your fatherland this consolation, this resignation; because, whatever may be the ardor of your sentiments, you have never made anything but a French cause out of your Alsatian cause. And it is in this very way that you have given a true proof of patriotism, putting aside in the greatest measure your personal interests for the cause of France. France ought to make requital to you for these great and noble sentiments. If she were so forgetful and impious as not to have constantly before her eyes the picture of your Alsace, bleeding and mutilated, oh, then you would be right to despair! But have no fear, so long as there is in France a National Party. And be sure that this National Party is now being formed anew and reconstituted. The true spirit of France seized and delivered over to the enemy by the Second Empire is to-day enlightened. From all sides publications let us know the *rôle* which our populations have played, and it is manifest that France has been much more disheartened than beaten, much more surprised than conquered. And the very moment the real state of events is made clear, the conscience of the country is reborn. You see the beginning of a great work, legitimate although melancholy, the work of ensuing and stigmatizing those who have deserved it. I hope that you will aid in the infliction of necessary penalties.

At the same time with the country all the parties reunite in demanding the punishment of the crime of "contempt of France" beneath the walls of Metz, and you see coming into our ranks true patriots, men who without hesitating, without discussing, have done their duty and have been true heroes of the army of the Loire.

Ah! how strongly those who struggled felt that there was no other resource, and no other honor for France, than to make the flag of the Republic the flag of the nation.

There was something in this spectacle to urge us to retire within ourselves and to seek by starting fresh, by yielding to a new impulse, to impress the French mind, whatever the true means of restoring our moral and scientific greatness, financial probity, and military strength. And when we have in all the work yards of construction rebuilt France piece by piece, do you believe that this will be ignored by Europe, and that nations will fail to think twice before approving and ratifying the outrageous gospel of force? Do you believe that that barbarous and Gothic axiom that might makes right will remain inscribed in the annals of international law? No! No!

If an ill-omened silence has greeted such a theory, it is because France was cast down. But there is not another country in Europe that does not think France should renew herself. They are not thinking of assisting her—they have not arrived at that—to that position our best wishers and those who sympathize with us the most desire for her. We have not received, and we shall not for a long time receive, either aid or coöperation, but the sentiment of the neighboring nations is plainly seen. They feel that the storm may not have spent all its strength on us, and that it may visit other countries and strike other peoples. The sentiment of general self-preservation is springing up. They are looking from France, and they see the occidental world empty.

Let us show our strength to those who are examining our morality, our internal power, and avoid displaying, as we have till now often done, the spectacle of dynastic quarrels or dissension about chimeras.

Let us give this pledge to Europe, that we have no other aim than to take all the time necessary to arrive at that moral and material position where there is no need of drawing the sword, where people yield to right all that is her due, because they feel that there is force behind.

But let us neither be unduly elated, nor depressed by discouragement.

Let us take to the letter—and this is a reflection that you will permit me to make in the presence of this bronze group which you have been so good as to offer me—let us take to the letter the thought which has animated the artist and

the patriot. As this mother, who, extending her hand over the body of her fallen son, and feeling her bosom pressed by her babe, as yet too feeble to bear arms, counts only on the future, let us take the only course worthy of people truly animated by a wise and steadfast purpose. Let us not talk of revenge or speak rash words. Let us collect ourselves. Let us ever work to acquire that quality which we lack, that quality of which you have so admirably spoken—patience that nothing discourages, tenacity which wears out even time itself.

Then, gentlemen, when we have undergone this necessary renovation, time enough will have passed to bring about changes in the world around us. For this world which surrounds us is not, even now, in a very enviable situation. The din of arms, because it has ceased in France, has not ceased elsewhere.

One need not travel very far among his neighbors to perceive that on all sides preparations are being made, that the match is lighted. The only activity that prevails amid the operations of governments is military activity.

I do not say that from this we should draw delusive inferences. We should simply understand that the true program for every good Frenchman is, above all, to discipline himself at home, to devote himself to making of each citizen a soldier, and, if it be possible, an educated man, and leaving the rest to come to us in the process of our national growth.

Our enemies have given us examples on this point, which you know better than we do. For you, dwelling just on the frontiers, between them and us, have derived from intercourse with them a greater intellectual culture, have learnt the application of scientific ideas to promote the interests of practical life, at the same time that you still possess that fire, that energy, that vigor, which are characteristic of the French race.

It is with you and like you that we wish to labor, without letting ourselves be turned from our end by monarchical conspiracies. You can repeat to your brothers of Alsace that there is nothing to be feared from that quarter. That fear would be of a nature singularly alarming to your patriotic hopes. And again I say, gentlemen, now that sophists on

all sides are declaring that if we remain a republic we shall lack alliances outside and that we shall find no coöperation nor aid in the governments of Europe, again I say that if there be a *régime,* a system of government which has above all a horror of the spirit of conquest and annexation, it is the republican. Any other political combination than the republic would lead to civil war and foreign occupation. And we should have but one passion, one aim—to get rid of that. We ought to repeat the cry of Italy, "Out with the foreigners."

Be persuaded, be sure that under a government which is resolved to follow a truly national policy you can wait and need never despair.

As for me, you know the sentiments I have avowed to you; you know how completely I am yours. I have no other ambition than to remain faithful to the charge you have given me, and which I shall consider as the law and honor of my life.

Let those among you, gentlemen, who have the sorrowful honor of rejoining your compatriots of Alsace, say that after I had seen you I could not find in my heart a single word which would express, as I would have it do, the profound gratitude that I feel toward you.

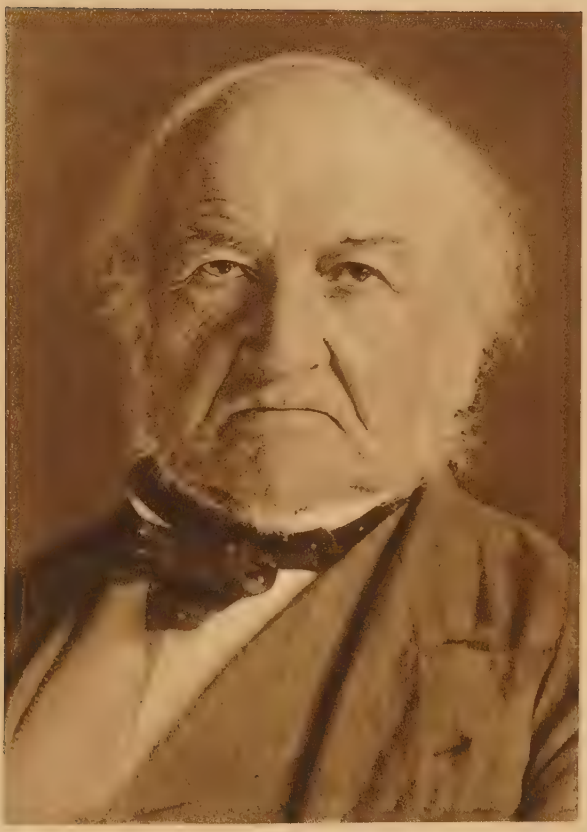
WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE

ON DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

[William Ewart Gladstone, four times premier of Great Britain, was born in Liverpool in 1809. He graduated at Oxford and almost immediately entered Parliament. In 1868 he became premier, after being a brilliant leader of the Opposition. He disestablished the Irish Church, carried an Irish land bill, abolished the purchase of army commissions, and reformed the suffrage. He was superseded in 1874, but returned to power in 1880, and resigned in 1885. In the same year, however, he was recalled to the premiership, only to be defeated in 1886 on the Home Rule Bill. He continued to lead his following in the House of Commons until 1892, when he carried the elections. His Home Rule Bill was passed by a narrow margin the following year, but the House of Lords rejected the measure by a large majority. Gladstone vacated the premiership in 1894. In 1895 he retired, after sitting sixty years in the House of Commons. He died in 1898.

Gladstone was one of the greatest of orators. He could hold the attention of the House of Commons during a long exposition of the budget or he could sway a great public meeting to enthusiasm and passion. Without Disraeli's wit and with a style more diffuse than that of Bright, he had far greater range and adaptability than either. Trained under Canning and Peel, he surpassed his masters. His first speech was made when a schoolboy of sixteen, his last in the year before his death at the age of eighty-eight. For seventy years his magnificent voice never lost its power. The following address, relating to the domestic and foreign policy of Great Britain in his own time, was delivered at West Calder, November 27, 1879.]

In addressing you to-day, as in addressing like audiences assembled for a like purpose in other places of the country, I am warmed by the enthusiastic welcome which you have been pleased in every quarter and in every form to accord to me. I am, on the other hand, daunted when I recollect, first of all, what large demands I have to make on your patience; and secondly, how inadequate are my powers, and how inadequate almost any amount of time you can grant me, to set forth worthily the whole of the case which ought to be laid before you in connection with the coming election.



WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE

[Following this brief introduction, Mr. Gladstone devoted the first half of his address to domestic issues, agriculture, competition with the United States, free trade, and protection. He then turned to foreign affairs.]

I will therefore ask you again to cross the seas with me. I see that the time is flying onward, and, gentlemen, it is very hard upon you to be so much vexed upon the subject of policy abroad. You think generally, and I think, that your domestic affairs are quite enough to call for all your attention. There was a saying of an ancient Greek orator, who, unfortunately, very much undervalued what we generally call the better portion of the community—namely, women; he made a very disrespectful observation, which I am going to quote, not for the purpose of concurring with it, but for the purpose of an illustration.

Pericles, the great Athenian statesman, said with regard to women, their greatest merit was to be never heard of.

Now, what Pericles untruly said of women, I am very much disposed to say of foreign affairs—their great merit would be to be never heard of. Unfortunately, instead of being never heard of, they are always heard of, and you hear almost of nothing else; and I can't promise you, gentlemen, that you will be relieved from this everlasting din, because the consequences of an unwise meddling with foreign affairs are consequences that will for some time necessarily continue to trouble you, and that will find their way to your pockets in the shape of increased taxation.

Gentlemen, with that apology I ask you again to go with me beyond the seas. And as I wish to do full justice, I will tell you what I think to be the right principles of foreign policy; and then, as far as your patience and my strength will permit, I will, at any rate for a short time, illustrate those right principles by some of the departures from them that have taken place of late years. I first give you, gentlemen, what I think the right principles of foreign policy.

The first thing is to foster the strength of the empire by just legislation and economy at home, thereby producing two of the great elements of national power—namely, wealth, which is a physical element, and union and contentment, which are moral elements—and to reserve the strength of the

empire, to reserve the expenditure of that strength, for great and worthy occasions abroad. Here is my first principle of foreign policy: good government at home.

My second principle of foreign policy is this: that its aim ought to be to preserve to the nations of the world—and especially, were it but for shame, when we recollect the sacred name we bear as Christians, especially to the Christian nations of the world—the blessings of peace. That is my second principle.

My third principle is this: Even, gentlemen, when you do a good thing, you may do it in so bad a way that you may entirely spoil the beneficial effect; and if we were to make ourselves the apostles of peace in the sense of conveying to the minds of other nations that we thought ourselves more entitled to an opinion on that subject than they are or to deny their rights—well, very likely we should destroy the whole value of our doctrines. In my opinion the third sound principle is this: to strive to cultivate and maintain, aye, to the very uttermost, what is called the concert of Europe; to keep the powers of Europe in union together. And why? Because by keeping all in union together you neutralize, and fetter, and bind up the selfish aims of each. I am not here to flatter either England or any of them. They have selfish aims, as, unfortunately, we in late years have too sadly shown that we too have had selfish aims; but their common action is fatal to selfish aims. Common action means common objects; and the only objects for which you can unite together the powers of Europe are objects connected with the common good of them all. That, gentlemen, is my third principle of foreign policy.

My fourth principle is: that you should avoid needless and entangling engagements. You may boast about them, you may brag about them, you may say you are procuring consideration for the country. You may say that an Englishman can now hold up his head among the nations. You may say that he is not in the hands of a liberal ministry, who thought of nothing but pounds, shillings, and pence. But what does all this come to, gentlemen? It comes to this, that you are increasing your engagements without increasing your strength; and if you increase engagements without increasing strength, you diminish

strength, you abolish strength; you really reduce the empire and do not increase it. You render it less capable of performing its duties; you render it an inheritance less precious to hand on to future generations.

My fifth principle is this, gentlemen: to acknowledge the equal rights of all nations. You may sympathize with one nation more than another. Nay, you must sympathize in certain circumstances with one nation more than another. You sympathize most with those nations, as a rule, with which you have the closest connection in language, in blood, and in religion, or whose circumstances at the time seem to give the strongest claim to sympathy. But in point of right all are equal, and you have no right to set up a system under which one of them is to be placed under moral suspicion or espionage, or to be made the constant subject of invective. If you do that, but especially if you claim for yourself a superiority, a pharisaical superiority over the whole of them, then I say you may talk about your patriotism if you please, but you are a misjudging friend of your country, and in undermining the basis of the esteem and respect of other people for your country you are in reality inflicting the severest injury upon it. I have now given you, gentlemen, five principles of foreign policy. Let me give you a sixth, and then I have done.

And that sixth is: that in my opinion foreign policy, subject to all the limitations that I have described, the foreign policy of England should always be inspired by the love of freedom. There should be a sympathy with freedom, a desire to give it scope, founded not upon visionary ideas, but upon the long experience of many generations within the shores of this happy isle, that in freedom you lay the firmest foundations both of loyalty and order; the firmest foundations for the development of individual character, and the best provision for the happiness of the nation at large. In the foreign policy of this country the name of Canning ever will be honored. The name of Russell ever will be honored. The name of Palmerston ever will be honored by those who recollect the erection of the kingdom of Belgium and the union of the disjoined provinces of Italy. It is that sympathy, not a sympathy with disorder, but, on the contrary, founded upon the deepest and most profound love of order—it is that sympathy which in my

opinion ought to be the very atmosphere in which a foreign secretary of England ought to live and to move.

Gentlemen, it is impossible for me to do more to-day than to attempt very slight illustrations of those principles. But in uttering those principles I have put myself in a position in which no one is entitled to tell me—you will hear me out in what I say—that I simply object to the acts of others, and lay down no rules of action myself. I am not only prepared to show what are the rules of action which in my judgment are the right rules, but I am prepared to apply them, nor will I shrink from their application. I will take, gentlemen, the name which, most of all others, is associated with suspicion, and with alarm, and with hatred in the minds of many Englishmen. I will take the name of Russia, and at once I will tell you what I think about Russia, and how I am prepared as a member of Parliament to proceed in anything that respects Russia. You have heard me, gentlemen, denounced sometimes, I believe, as a Russian spy, sometimes as a Russian agent, sometimes as perhaps a Russian fool, which is not so bad, but still not very desirable. But, gentlemen, when you come to evidence, the worst thing that I have ever seen quoted out of any speech or writing of mine about Russia is that I did one day say, or I believe I wrote, these terrible words: I recommended Englishmen to imitate Russia in her good deeds. Was not that a terrible proposition? I cannot recede from it. I think we ought to imitate Russia in her good deeds, and if the good deeds be few, I am sorry for it, but I am not the less disposed on that account to imitate them when they come. I will now tell you what I think just about Russia.

I make it one of my charges against the foreign policy of her Majesty's government, that, while they have completely estranged from this country—let us not conceal the fact—the feelings of a nation of eighty millions, for that is the number of the subjects of the Russian empire—while they have contrived completely to estrange the feelings of that nation, they have aggrandized the power of Russia in two ways, which I will state with perfect distinctness. They have augmented her territory. Before the European powers met at Berlin, Lord Salisbury met with Count Schouvaloff, and Lord Salis-

bury agreed that, unless he could convince Russia by his arguments in the open Congress of Berlin, he would support the restoration to the despotic power of Russia of that country north of the Danube which at the moment constituted a portion of the free state of Roumania. Why, gentlemen, what had been done by the Liberal government, which forsooth, attended to nothing but pounds, shillings, and pence? The Liberal government had driven Russia back from the Danube. Russia, which was a Danubian power before the Crimean War, lost this position on the Danube by the Crimean War; and the Tory government, which has been incensing and inflaming you against Russia, yet nevertheless, by binding itself beforehand to support, when the judgment was taken, the restoration of that country to Russia, has aggrandized the power of Russia.

It further aggrandized the power of Russia in Armenia; but I would not dwell upon that matter if it were not for a very strange circumstance. You know that an Armenian province was given to Russia after the war, but about that I own to you I have very much less feeling of objection. I have objected from the first, vehemently and in every form, to the granting of territory on the Danube to Russia, and carrying back the population of a certain country from a free state to a despotic state but with regard to the transfer of a certain portion of the Armenian people from the government of Turkey to the government of Russia, I must own that I contemplate that transfer with much greater equanimity. I have no fear myself of the territorial extensions of Russia, in Asia, no fear of them whatever. I think the fears are no better than an old woman's fears. And I don't wish to encourage her aggressive tendencies in Asia, or anywhere else. But I admit it may be, and probably is, the case that there is some benefit attending upon the transfer of a portion of Armenia from Turkey to Russia.

But here is a very strange fact. You know that that portion of Armenia includes the port of Batoum. Lord Salisbury has lately stated to the country that, by the Treaty of Berlin, the port of Batoum is to be only a commercial port. If the Treaty of Berlin stated that it was to be only a commercial port, which of course could not be made an

arsenal, that fact would be very important. But happily, gentlemen, although treaties are concealed from us nowadays as long and as often as is possible, the Treaty of Berlin is an open instrument. We can consult it for ourselves; and when we consult the Treaty of Berlin, we find it states that Batoum shall be essentially a commercial port, but not that it shall be only a commercial port. Why, gentlemen, Leith is essentially a commercial port, but there is nothing to prevent the people of this country, if in their wisdom or their folly they should think fit, from constituting Leith as a great naval arsenal or fortification; and there is nothing to prevent the Emperor of Russia.while leaving to Batoum a character that shall be essentially commercial, from joining with that another character that is not in the slightest degree excluded by the treaty, and making it as much as he pleases a port of military defense. Therefore, I challenge the assertion of Lord Salisbury; and as Lord Salisbury is fond of writing letters to the "Times" to bring the Duke of Argyll to book, he perhaps will be kind enough to write another letter to the "Times," and tell in what clause of the Treaty of Berlin he finds it written that the port of Batoum shall be only a commercial port. For the present, I simply leave it on record that he has misrepresented the Treaty of Berlin.

With respect to Russia, I take two views of the position of Russia. The position of Russia in Central Asia I believe to be one that has, in the main, been forced upon her against her will. She has been compelled—and this is the impartial opinion of the world—she has been compelled to extend her frontier southward in Central Asia by causes in some degree analogous to, but certainly more stringent and imperative than, the causes which have commonly led us to extend, in a far more important manner, our frontier in India; and I think it, gentlemen, much to the credit of the late government, much to the honor of Lord Clarendon and Lord Granville, that, when we were in office, we made a covenant with Russia, in which Russia bound herself to exercise no influence or interference whatever in Afghanistan, we, on the other hand, making known our desire that Afghanistan should continue free and independent. Both the powers acted with uniform strictness and fidelity upon this engagement until

the day when we were removed from office. But Russia, gentlemen, has another position—her position in respect to Turkey; and here it is that I have complained of the government for aggrandizing the power of Russia; it is on this point that I most complain.

The policy of her Majesty's government was a policy of repelling and repudiating the Slavonic population of Turkey-in-Europe, and of declining to make England the advocate for their interests. Nay, more, she became in their view the advocate of the interests opposed to theirs. Indeed, she was rather the decided advocate of Turkey; and now Turkey is full of loud complaints—and complaints, I must say, not unjust—that we allured her on to her ruin, that we gave the Turks a right to believe that we should support them; that our ambassadors, Sir Henry Elliot and Sir Austin Layard, both of them said we had most vital interests in maintaining Turkey as it was, and consequently the Turks thought if we had vital interests, we should certainly defend them; and they were thereby lured on into that ruinous, cruel, and destructive war with Russia. But by our conduct to the Slavonic populations we alienated those populations from us. We made our name odious among them. They had every disposition to sympathize with us, every disposition to confide in us. They are, as a people, desirous of freedom, desirous of self-government, with no aggressive views, but hating the idea of being absorbed in a huge despotic empire like Russia. But when they found that we, and the other powers of Europe under our unfortunate guidance, declined to become in any manner their champions in defense of the rights of life, of property, and of female honor—when they found that there was no call which could find its way to the heart of England through its government, or to the hearts of other powers, and that Russia alone was disposed to fight for them, why naturally they said Russia is our friend. We have done everything, gentlemen, in our power to drive these populations into the arms of Russia. If Russia has aggressive dispositions in the direction of Turkey—and I think it probable that she may have them—it is we who have laid the ground upon which Russia may make her march to the south —we who have taught the Bulgarians, the Servians, the Rou-

manians, the Montenegrins, that there is one power in Europe, and only one, which is ready to support in act and by the sword her professions of sympathy with the oppressed populations of Turkey. That power is Russia, and how can you blame these people if, in such circumstances, they are disposed to say, Russia is our friend? But why did we make them say it? Simply because of the policy of the government, not because of the wishes of the people of this country. Gentlemen, this is the most dangerous form of aggrandizing Russia. If Russia is aggressive anywhere, if Russia is formidable anywhere, it is by movements toward the south, it is by schemes for acquiring command of the Straits or of Constantinople; and there is no way by which you can possibly so much assist her in giving reality to these designs, as by inducing and disposing the populations of these provinces, who are now in virtual possession of them, to look upon Russia as their champion and their friend, to look upon England as their disguised, perhaps, but yet real and effective enemy.

Why, now, gentlemen, I have said that I think it not unreasonable either to believe, or at any rate to admit it to be possible, that Russia has aggressive designs in the east of Europe. I do not mean immediate aggressive designs. I do not believe that the Emperor of Russia is a man of aggressive schemes or policy. It is that, looking to that question in the long run, looking at what has happened, and what may happen in ten or twenty years, in one generation, in two generations, it is highly probable that in some circumstances Russia may develop aggressive tendencies toward the south.

Perhaps you will say I am guilty of the same injustice to Russia that I have been deprecating, because I say that we ought not to adopt the method of condemning anybody without cause, and setting up exceptional principles in proscription of a particular nation. Gentlemen, I will explain to you in a moment the principle upon which I act, and the grounds upon which I form my judgment. They are simply these grounds: I look at the position of Russia, the geographical position of Russia relatively to Turkey. I look at the comparative strength of the two empires; I look at the importance of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus as an exit and a channel for the military and commercial marine

of Russia to the Mediterranean; and what I say to myself is this: If the United Kingdom were in the same position relatively to Turkey which Russia holds upon the map of the globe, I feel quite sure that we should be very apt indeed both to entertain and to execute aggressive designs upon Turkey. Gentlemen, I will go further, and will frankly own to you that I believe if we, instead of happily inhabiting this island, had been in the possession of the Russian territory, and in the circumstances of the Russian people, we should most likely have eaten up Turkey long ago. And consequently, in saying that Russia ought to be vigilantly watched in that quarter, I am only applying to her the rule which in parallel circumstances I feel convinced ought to be applied, and would be justly applied, to judgments upon our own country.

Gentlemen, there is only one other point on which I must still say a few words to you, although there are a great many upon which I have a great many words yet to say somewhere or other.

Of all the principles, gentlemen, of foreign policy which I have enumerated, that to which I attach the greatest value is the principle of the equality of nations; because, without recognizing that principle, there is no such thing as public right, and without public international right there is no instrument available for settling the transactions of mankind except material force. Consequently the principle of equality among nations lies, in my opinion, at the very basis and root of a Christian civilization, and when that principle is compromised or abandoned, with it must depart our hopes of tranquillity and of progress for mankind.

I am sorry to say, gentlemen, that I feel it my absolute duty to make this charge against the foreign policy under which we have lived for the last two years, since the resignation of Lord Derby. It has been a foreign policy, in my opinion, wholly, or to a perilous extent, unregardful of public right, and it has been founded upon the basis of a false, I think an arrogant and a dangerous, assumption, although I do not question its being made conscientiously and for what was believed the advantage of the country—an untrue, arrogant, and dangerous assumption that we are entitled to as-

sume for ourselves some dignity, which we should also be entitled to withhold from others, and to claim on our own part authority to do things which we would not permit to be done by others. For example, when Russia was going to the Congress at Berlin, we said: "Your Treaty of San Stefano is of no value. It is an act between you and Turkey; but the concerns of Turkey by the Treaty of Paris are the concerns of Europe at large. We insist upon it that the whole of your Treaty of San Stefano shall be submitted to the Congress at Berlin, that they may judge how far to open it in each and every one of its points, because the concerns of Turkey are the common concerns of the powers of Europe acting in concert."

Having asserted that principle to the world, what did we do? These two things, gentlemen: secretly, without the knowledge of Parliament, without even the forms of official procedure, Lord Salisbury met Count Schouvaloff in London, and agreed with him upon the terms on which the two powers together should be bound in honor to one another to act upon all the most important points when they came before the Congress at Berlin. Having alleged against Russia that she should not be allowed to settle Turkish affairs with Turkey, because they were but two powers, and these affairs were the common affairs of Europe, and of European interest, we then got Count Schouvaloff into a private room, and on the part of England and Russia, they being but two powers, we settled a large number of the most important of these affairs in utter contempt and derogation of the very principle for which the government had been contending for months before, for which they had asked Parliament to grant a sum of £6,000,000, for which they had spent that £6,000,000 in needless and mischievous armaments. That which we would not allow Russia to do with Turkey, because we pleaded the rights of Europe, we ourselves did with Russia, in contempt of the rights of Europe. Nor was that all, gentlemen. That act was done, I think, on one of the last days of May, in the year 1878, and the document was published, made known to the world, made known to the Congress at Berlin, to its infinite astonishment, unless I am very greatly misinformed.

But that was not all. Nearly at the same time we per-

formed the same operation in another quarter. We objected to a treaty between Russia and Turkey as having no authority, though that treaty was made in the light of day—namely, to the Treaty of San Stefano; and what did we do? We went not in the light of day, but in the darkness of the night —not in the knowledge and cognizance of other powers, all of whom would have had the faculty and means of watching all along, and of preparing and taking their own objections and shaping their own policy—not in the light of day, but in the darkness of the night, we sent the ambassador of England in Constantinople to the minister of Turkey and there he framed, even while the Congress of Berlin was sitting to determine these matters of common interest,—he framed that which is too famous, shall I say, or rather too notorious, as the Anglo-Turkish Convention.

Gentlemen, it is said, and said truly, that truth beats fiction; that what happens in fact from time to time is of a character so daring, so strange, that if the novelist were to imagine it and put it upon his pages, the whole world would reject it from its improbability. And that is the case of the Anglo-Turkish Convention. For who would have believed it possible that we should assert before the world the principle that Europe only could deal with the affairs of the Turkish empire, and should ask Parliament for six millions to support us in asserting that principle, should send ministers to Berlin who declared that unless that principle was acted upon they would go to war with the material that Parliament had placed in their hands, and should at the same time be concluding a separate agreement with Turkey, under which those matters of European jurisdiction were coolly transferred to English jurisdiction; and the whole matter was sealed with the worthless bribe of the possession and administration of the island of Cyprus! I said, gentlemen, the worthless bribe of the island of Cyprus, and that is the truth. It is worthless for our purposes—not worthless in itself; an island of resources, an island of natural capabilities, provided they are allowed to develop themselves in the course of circumstances, without violent and unprincipled methods of action. But Cyprus was not thought to be worthless by those who accepted it as a bribe. On the contrary, you were told

that it was to secure the road to India; you were told that it was to be the site of an arsenal very cheaply made, and more valuable than Malta; you were told that it was to revive trade. And a multitude of companies were formed, and sent agents and capital to Cyprus, and some of them, I fear, grievously burned their fingers there. I am not going to dwell upon that now. What I have in view is not the particular merits of Cyprus, but the illustration that I have given you in the case of the agreement of Lord Salisbury with Count Schouvaloff, and in the case of the Anglo-Turkish Convention, of the manner in which we have asserted for ourselves a principle that we had denied to others—namely, the principle of overriding the European authority of the Treaty of Paris, and taking the matters which that treaty gave to Europe into our own separate jurisdiction.

Now, gentlemen, I am sorry to find that that which I call the pharisaical assertion of our own superiority has found its way alike into the practice, and seemingly into the theories, of the government. I am not going to assert anything which is not known, but the prime minister has said that there is one day in the year—namely, the ninth of November, Lord Mayor's day—on which the language of sense and truth is to be heard amidst the surrounding din of idle rumors generated and fledged in the brains of irresponsible scribes. I do not agree, gentlemen, in that panegyric upon the ninth of November. I am much more apt to compare the ninth of November—certainly a well-known day in the year—but as to some of the speeches that have lately been made upon it I am very much disposed to compare it with another day in the year, well known to British tradition, and that other day in the year is the first of April. But, gentlemen, on that day the prime minister, speaking out—I do not question for a moment his own sincere opinion—made what I think one of the most unhappy and ominous allusions ever made by a minister of this country. He quoted certain words, easily rendered as "Empire and Liberty"—words (he said) of a Roman statesman, words descriptive of the state of Rome—and he quoted them as words which were capable of legitimate application to the position and circumstances of England. I join issue with the prime minister upon that subject, and I affirm that

nothing can be more fundamentally unsound, more practically ruinous, than the establishment of Roman analogies for the guidance of British policy. What, gentlemen, was Rome? Rome was indeed an imperial state; you may tell me—I know not, I cannot read the counsels of Providence—a state having a mission to subdue the world, but a state whose very basis it was to deny the equal rights, to proscribe the independent existence of other nations. That, gentlemen, was the Roman idea. It has been partially and not ill described in three lines of a translation from Virgil by our great poet Dryden, which runs as follows:—

> "O Rome! 'tis thine alone with awful sway
> To rule mankind, and make the world obey,
> Disposing peace and war thine own majestic way."

We are told to fall back upon this example. No doubt the word "Empire" was qualified with the word "Liberty." But what did the two words "Liberty" and "Empire" mean in a Roman mouth? They meant simply this: "Liberty for ourselves, Empire over the rest of mankind."

I do not think, gentlemen, that this ministry, or any other ministry, is going to place us in the position of Rome. What I object to is the revival of the idea. I care not how feebly, I care not even how, from a philosophic or historical point of view, how ridiculous the attempt at this revival may be. I say it indicates an intention—I say it indicates a frame of mind, and the frame of mind, unfortunately, I find, has been consistent with the policy of which I have given you some illustrations—the policy of denying to others the rights that we claim ourselves. No doubt, gentlemen, Rome may have had its work to do, and Rome did its work. But modern times have brought a different state of things. Modern times have established a sisterhood of nations, equal, independent, each of them built up under that legitimate defense which public law affords to every nation living within its own borders, and seeking to perform its own affairs; but if one thing more than another has been detestable to Europe, it has been the appearance upon the stage from time to time of men who, even in the times of the Christian civilization, have been thought to aim at universal dominion. It was

this aggressive disposition on the part of Louis XIV, King of France, that led your forefathers, gentlemen, freely to spend their blood and treasure in a cause not immediately their own, and to struggle against the method of policy which, having Paris for its center, seemed to aim at an universal monarchy.

It was the very same thing, a century and a half later, which was the charge launched, and justly launched, against Napoleon, that under his dominion France was not content even with her extended limits, but Germany, and Italy, and Spain, apparently without any limit to this pestilent and pernicious process, were to be brought under the dominion or influence of France, and national equality was to be trampled under foot, and national rights denied. For that reason, England in the struggle almost exhausted herself, greatly impoverished her people, brought upon herself, and Scotland too, the consequences of a debt that nearly crushed their energies, and poured forth their best blood without limit, in order to resist and put down these intolerable pretensions.

Gentlemen, it is but in a pale and weak and almost despicable miniature that such ideas are now set up but you will observe that the poison lies—that the poison and the mischief lie—in the principle and not the scale.

It is the opposite principle which, I say, has been compromised by the action of the ministry, and which I call upon you, and upon any who choose to hear my views, to vindicate when the day of our election comes; I mean the sound and the sacred principle that Christendom is formed of a band of nations who are united to one another in the bonds of right; that they are without distinction of great and small; there is an absolute equality between them—the same sacredness defends the narrow limits of Belgium as attaches to the extended frontiers of Russia, or Germany, or France. I hold that he who by act or word brings that principle into peril or disparagement, however honest his intentions may be, places himself in the position of one inflicting—I won't say intending to inflict—I ascribe nothing of the sort—but inflicting injury upon his own country, and endangering the peace and all the most fundamental interests of Christian society.

LORD BEACONSFIELD

BENJAMIN DISRAELI

PEACE WITH HONOR

[This is the famous speech in which Disraeli described Gladstone as "inebriated with the exuberance of his own verbosity." It is interesting to note how skilfully the taunt is prepared for, but reserved until the climax of the speech. Disraeli (1804-1881) novelist, statesman, and twice prime minister of England, was an orator fertile in resource and audacious in wit. This characteristic speech represents him at the height of his extraordinary career.

A magnificent banquet was given in London, July 27, 1878, to the Earl of Beaconsfield, and the Marquis of Salisbury, by a numerous body of the Conservative Peers and Members of the House of Commons to testify their high appreciation and approval of the distinguished services of Her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries at the Congress of Berlin, which closed July 13, 1878. The large hall was decorated with flags, banners, and Conservative mottoes, conspicuous among which was "Peace with Honor." The chairman, the Duke of Buccleuch, in introducing Lord Beaconsfield, said: "We have met here to welcome home, after arduous and difficult duties, two noble lords, though on this occasion I shall refer only to one who holds the position of Prime Minister of this country. [Much cheering.] It is not for me on this occasion to enter upon the career of that noble lord, for it is well known as a matter of history. His career and his political character have been before us for upwards of forty years. He has had one great advantage—I will not say at the end of his career, for that I hope is still far distant. But his career, like that of all statesmen in this country, has been and could not be otherwise than a checkered one, sometimes defeat, oftentimes victory; and now at last I hope he has achieved the greatest victory of his life. [Cheers.] He went out with an apprehension on the part of many, and with the declaration of others, that he was going to produce war; but he has returned crowned with peace. [Loud cheers.] Notwithstanding the difficult and arduous position in which he has been placed, assailed at home as well as abroad, but at the same time well supported at home [cheers] his motives and intentions well understood [cheers], we have not at any time lost confidence in him. . . . He has been able in the great council of nations to speak openly and clearly, with no uncertain sound, producing the happy result which we now celebrate. A generous

foe is as welcome as the constant friend. No one can appreciate as I do a noble, open, generous foe. We meet in the field; let us have a fair fight, and he who conquers, wins. [Cheers.] So it has been with my noble friend. He has had many a hard battle to fight, but on this occasion he has fought with success, carrying with him, I believe, the feeling of the whole country. I propose now 'The Health of Lord Beaconsfield,' and welcome home to him; welcome to him as the greatest conqueror, who has vanquished war and brought us back to peace."]

My Lord Duke and Gentlemen:—I am sure you will acquit me of affectation if I say that it is not without emotion that I have received this expression of your good-will and sympathy. [Cheers.] When I look round this chamber I see the faces of some who entered public life with myself, as my noble friend the noble Duke has reminded me, more than forty years ago; I see more whose entrance into public life I witnessed when I had myself gained some experience of it; and lastly I see those who have only recently entered upon public life, and whom it has been my duty and my delight to encourage and counsel [cheers] when they entered that public career so characteristic of this country, and which is one of the main securities of our liberty and welfare. [Cheers.]

My lords and gentlemen, our chairman has referred to my career, like that of all public men in this country, as one of change and vicissitude; but I have been sustained even in the darkest hours of our party by the conviction that I possessed your confidence. [Cheers.] I will say your indulgent confidence; for in the long course of my public life that I may have committed many mistakes is too obvious a truth to touch upon; but that you have been indulgent there is no doubt, for I can, I hope I may say, proudly remember that it has been my lot to lead in either House of Parliament this great party for a longer period than has ever fallen to the lot of any public man in the history of this country. [Cheers.] That I have owed this result to your generous indulgence more than to any personal qualities of my own [cheers and cries of "No! no!"] no man is more sensible than myself; but it is a fact that I may recur to with some degree of proud satisfaction. [Cheers.]

Our noble chairman has referred to the particular occasion

which has made me your guest to-day. I attended that high assembly which has recently dispersed, with much reluctance. I yielded to the earnest solicitations of my noble friend near me [the Marquis of Salisbury], my colleague in that great enterprise. [Cheers.] He thought that my presence might be of use to him in the vast difficulties he had to encounter [cheers]; but I must say now, as I shall ever say, that to his lot fell the laboring oar in that great work [cheers] and that you are, I will not say equally, but more indebted to him than to myself for the satisfactory result which you kindly recognize. [Cheers.]

I share the conviction of our noble chairman that it is one which has been received with satisfaction by the country [loud cheers], but I am perfectly aware that that satisfaction is not complete or unanimous, because I know well that before eight and forty hours have passed the marshaled hosts of opposition will be prepared to challenge what has been done and to question the policy we hope we have established. [Cheers.]

My lords and gentlemen, as I can no longer raise my voice in that House of Parliament where this contest is to take place, as I sit now in a House where our opponents never unsheathe their swords [cheers and laughter], a House where, although the two chief plenipotentiaries of the Queen sit, they are met only by innuendo and by question [cheers], I hope you will permit me, though with extreme brevity, to touch on one or two of the points which in a few hours may much engage the interest and attention of Parliament. [Cheers.]

My lords and gentlemen, it is difficult to describe the exact meaning of the charge which is brought against the plenipotentiaries of the Queen, as it will be introduced to the House of Commons on Monday. Drawn as it is, it appears at first sight to be only a series of congratulatory regrets. [Much cheering.] But, my lords and gentlemen, if you penetrate the meaning of this movement, it would appear that there are two points in which it is hoped that a successful onset may be made on Her Majesty's Government, and on those two points, and those alone, I hope with becoming brevity, at this moment, perhaps, you will allow me to make one or two remarks. [Cheers.]

It is charged against Her Majesty's Government that they

have particularly deceived and deserted Greece. Now, my lords and gentlemen, this is a subject which is, I think, capable of simpler treatment than hitherto it has encountered in public discussion. We have given at all times, in public and in private, to the Government of Greece and to all who might influence its decisions but one advice—that on no account should they be induced to interfere in those coming disturbances which two years ago threatened Europe, and which concluded in a devastating war. And we gave that advice on these grounds, which appear to me incontestable. If, as Greece supposed, and as we thought erroneously supposed, the partition of the Ottoman Empire was at hand, Greece, morally, geographically, ethnographically, was sure of receiving a considerable allotment of that partition when it took place.

It would be impossible to make a re-settlement of the East of Europe without largely satisfying the claims of Greece; and great as those claims might be, if that was the case, it was surely unwise in Greece to waste its treasure and its blood. If, on the other hand, as Her Majesty's Government believed, the end of this struggle would not be a partition of the Ottoman Empire, but that the wisdom and experience of all the powers and governments would come to the conclusion that the existence and strengthening of the Ottoman Government was necessary to the peace of Europe, and without it long and sanguinary and intermitting struggles must inevitably take place, it was equally clear to us that, when the settlement occurred, all those rebellious tributary principalities that have lavished their best blood and embarrassed their finances for generations would necessarily be but scurvily treated, and that Greece, even under this alternative, would find that she was wise in following the advice of England and not mixing in fray so fatal. [Cheers.]

Well, my lords and gentlemen, has not the event proved the justice and accuracy of that view? [Cheers.] At this moment, though Greece has not interfered, fortunately for herself, though she has not lavished the blood of her citizens and wasted her treasure, under the Treaty of Berlin she has the opportunity of obtaining a greater increase of territory than will be attained by any of the rebellious principalities that have lav-

ished their blood and wasted their resources in this fierce contest. [Cheers.]

I should like to see that view answered by those who accuse us of misleading Greece. [Cheers.] We gave to her the best advice; fortunately for Greece she followed it, and I will hope that, following it with discretion and moderation, she will not lose the opportunity we have secured for her in the advantages she may yet reap. [Cheers.]

I would make one more remark on this subject, which will soon occupy the attention of many who are here present. It has been said we have misled and deserted Greece, because we were the power which took steps that Greece should be heard before the Congress.

Why did we do that? Because we had ever expressed our opinion that in the elevation of the Greek race—not merely the subjects of the King of Greece—one of the best chances of the improvement of society under the Ottoman rule would be found, and that it was expedient that the rights of the Greek race should be advocated by that portion of it which enjoyed an independent political existence; and all this time, too, let it be recollected that my noble friend was unceasing in his efforts to obtain such a settlement of the claims, or rather, I should say, the desires, of Greece with the Porte, as would conduce greatly to the advantage of that kingdom. [Cheers.]

And not without success. The proposition of Lord Salisbury for the rectification of the frontiers of Greece really includes all that moderate and sensible men could desire; and that was the plan that ultimately was adopted by the Congress, and which Greece might avail herself of if there be prudence and moderation in her councils. [Cheers.] Let me here make one remark which, indeed, is one that applies to other most interesting portions of this great question—it refers to the personal character of the Sultan. From the first, the Sultan of Turkey has expresed his desire to deal with Greece in a spirit of friendliness and conciliation. [Cheers.] He has been perfectly aware that in the union of the Turkish and Greek races the only balance could be obtained and secured against the Pan-Slavic monopoly which was fast invading the whole of his dominions. [Cheers.] Therefore, there was every disposition on his part to meet the proposals of the Eng-

lish Government with favor, and he did meet them with favor. [Cheers.] Remember the position of that Prince. It is almost unprecedented. No Prince, probably, that ever lived has gone through such a series of catastrophes. One of his predecessors commits suicide; his immediate predecessor is subject to a visitation more awful even than suicide. The moment he ascends the throne his ministers are assassinated. A conspiracy breaks out in his own palace, and then he learns that his kingdom is invaded, his armies, however valiant, are defeated, and that the enemy is at his gates; yet, with all these trials, and during all this period, he has never swerved in the expression and I believe the feeling of a desire to deal with Greece in a spirit of friendship. [Cheers.]

Well, what has happened? What was the last expression of friendship on his part? He is apparently a man whose every impulse is good; however great the difficulties he has to encounter, however evil the influences that may sometimes control him, his impulses are good; and where impulses are good, there is always hope. He is not a tyrant—he is not dissolute—he is not a bigot or corrupt. What was his last decision?

When my noble friend, not encouraged I must say, by Greece, but still continuing his efforts, endeavored to bring to some practical result this question of the frontiers, the Sultan said that what he was prepared to do he wished should be looked on as an act of grace on his part, and of his sense of the friendliness of Greece in not attacking him during his troubles; but as the Congress was now to meet, he should like to hear the result of the wisdom of the Congress on the subject. The Congress has now spoken, and though it declared that it did not feel justified in compelling the Sultan to adopt steps it might think advantageous even for his own interests, the Congress expressed an opinion which, I doubt not, the Sultan is prepared to consider in the spirit of conciliation he has so often displayed. And this is the moment when a party, for factious purposes [cheers], and a party unhappily not limited to England, is egging on Greece to violent courses!

I may, perhaps, have touched at too much length on this topic, but the attacks made on Her Majesty's Government are nothing compared with the public mischief that may occur if misconception exists on this point. [Cheers.] There is one

other point on which I would make a remark, and that is with regard to the Convention of Constantinople of the fourth of June.

When I study the catalogue of congratulatory regrets with attention, this appears to be the ground on which a great assault is to be made on the Government. It is said that we have increased, and dangerously increased, our responsibilities as a nation by that Convention. In the first place, I deny that we have increased our responsibilities by that Convention. I maintain that by that Convention we have lessened our responsibilities. Suppose now, for example, the settlement of Europe had not included the Convention of Constantinople and the occupation of the isle of Cyprus; suppose it had been limited to the mere Treaty of Berlin; what, under all probable circumstances, might then have occurred? In ten, fourteen, it might be in twenty, years, the power and resources of Russia having revived, some quarrel would again have occurred, Bulgarian or otherwise [cheers], and in all probability the armies of Russia would have been assailing the Ottoman dominions both in Europe and Asia, and enveloping and enclosing the city of Constantinople and its all-powerful position. [Cheers.]

Now, what would be the probable conduct, under these circumstances, of the Government of this country, whoever the ministers might be, whatever party might be in power? I fear there might be hesitation for a time—a want of decision—a want of firmness; but no one doubts that ultimately England would have said: "This will never do; we must prevent the conquest of Asia Minor [cheers]; we must interfere in this matter, and arrest the course of Russia." [Cheers.] No one, I am sure, in this country who impartially considers this question can for a moment doubt what, under any circumstances, would have been the course of this country. [Cheers.]

Well, then, that being the case, I say it is extremely important that this country should take a step beforehand [cheers] which should indicate what the policy of England would be; that you should not have your Ministers meeting in a Council Chamber, hesitating and doubting and con-

sidering contingencies, and then acting at last, but acting perhaps too late. [Cheers.] I say, therefore, that the responsibilities of this country have not been increased [cheers]; the responsibilities already existed, though I for one would never shrink from increasing the responsibilities of this country, if they are responsibilities which ought to be undertaken. [Cheers.] The responsibilities of this country are practically diminished by the course we have taken.

My lords and gentlemen, one of the results of my attending the Congress of Berlin has been to prove, what I always suspected to be the absolute fact, that neither the Crimean war, nor this horrible devastating war which has just terminated, would have taken place, if England had spoken with the necessary firmness. [Loud cheers.]

Russia has complaints to make against this country that neither in the case of the Crimean war nor on this occasion —and I do not shrink from my share of the responsibility in this matter—was the voice of England so clear and decided as to exercise a due share in the guidance of European opinion. [Cheers.]

Suppose, gentlemen, that my noble friend and I had come back with the Treaty of Berlin, and had not taken the step which is to be questioned within the next eight-and-forty hours, could we, with any self-respect, have met our countrymen when they asked, what securities have you made for the peace of Europe? How far have you diminished the chance of perpetually recurring war on this question of the East by the Treaty of Berlin? Why, they could say, all we have gained by the Treaty of Berlin is probably the peace of a few years, and at the end of that time the same phenomenon will arise and the Ministers of England must patch up the affair as well as they can.

That was not the idea of public duty entertained by my noble friend and myself. [Cheers.] We thought the time had come when we ought to take steps which would produce some order out of the anarchy and chaos that had so long prevailed. [Cheers.] We asked ourselves, was it absolutely a necessity that the fairest provinces of the world should be the most devastated and most ill-used, and for this reason

that there is no security for life or property so long as that country is in perpetual fear of invasion and aggression? [Cheers.]

It was under these circumstances that we recommended the course we have taken; and I believe that the consequences of that policy will tend to and even secure peace and order in a portion of the globe which hitherto has seldom been blessed by these celestial visitants. [Cheers.]

I hold that we have laid the foundation of a state of affairs which may open a new continent to the civilization of Europe [cheers], and that the welfare of the world and the wealth of the world may be increased by availing ourselves of that tranquillity and order which the more intimate connection of England with that country will now produce. [Cheers.]

But I am sorry to say that though we taxed our brains and our thought to establish a policy which might be beneficial to the country, we have not satisfied those who are our critics. [Cheers.]

I was astonished to learn that the Convention of the fourth of June has been described as "an insane convention." It is a strong epithet. I do not myself pretend to be as competent a judge of insanity as my right honorable opponent. [Gladstone.] I will not say to the right honorable gentleman, *naviget Anticyram,* but I would put this issue to an English jury—Which do you believe the most likely to enter into an insane convention—a body of English gentlemen honored by the favor of their Sovereign and the confidence of their fellow-subjects, managing your affairs for five years, I hope with prudence, and not altogether without success [cheers], or a sophisticated rhetorician, inebriated with the exuberance of his own verbosity [loud cheers and laughter], and gifted with an egotistical imagination that can at all times command an interminable and inconsistent series of arguments to malign an opponent and to glorify himself? [Continued cheers and laughter.]

My lords and gentlemen, I leave the decision upon that Convention to the Parliament and people of England. [Loud cheers.] I believe that in that policy are deeply laid the seeds of future welfare, not merely to England, but to Europe and Asia; and confident that the policy we have recommended

is one that will be supported by the country, I and those that act with me can endure these attacks. [Loud cheers.]

My lords and gentlemen, let me thank you once more for the manner in which you have welcomed me to-day. [Cheers.] These are the rewards of public life that never pall [cheers]—the sympathy of those who have known you long, who have worked with you long, who have the same opinions upon the policy that should be pursued in this great and ancient Empire. [Cheers.] These are the sentiments which no language can sufficiently appreciate—which are a consolation under all circumstances and the highest reward that a public man can attain. The generous feeling that has prompted you to welcome my colleague and myself on our return to England will inspire and strengthen our efforts to serve our country [cheers], and it is not merely that in this welcome you encourage those who are doing their best for what they conceive to be the public interest, but to tell to Europe also that England is a grateful country and knows how to appreciate the efforts of those of her public servants who are resolved to maintain to their utmost the Empire of Great Britain. [Prolonged applause.]

LORD SALISBURY

THE ABANDONMENT OF GENERAL GORDON

[Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoigne Cecil, Marquis of Salisbury, a statesman and prime minister of England, was born at Hatfield in 1830. He was educated at Eton and Christ Church, and at the age of twenty-three was elected to the House of Commons. In 1866 he joined Lord Derby's administration, and resigned in a year rather than support the Conservative suffrage reform bill. In 1868 his father died, and he left the Commons to enter the House of Lords, where after an interval of some years he became the recognized Conservative leader. When Disraeli became prime minister in 1874, Salisbury was made a member of the Cabinet. He now won a name for himself as a diplomatist, and during the ensuing ten years negotiated many important treaties. In 1885 he became prime minister, but was forced to resign almost immediately. In 1895 Salisbury was again called upon to form a ministry, and his last administration carried on the government until 1902, when the veteran statesman voluntarily withdrew to private life, having brought the Boer war to a successful conclusion and ushered in the great era of imperial federation. He died in 1903. The following speech was made before the House of Lords in 1885.]

The motion which I have the honor to lay before your lordships has a double aspect—it passes judgment on the past, and expresses an opinion with regard to the policy of the future. Some people receive with considerable impatience the idea that, at the present crisis of our country's destiny, we should examine into the past, and spend our time in judging of that which cannot be recalled.

But I think that such objections are unreasonable. We depend, in one of the greatest crises through which our country has ever passed, on the wisdom and decision of those who guide our counsels, and we can only judge of what dependence is rightly to be placed by examining their conduct in the past, and seeing whether what they have done justifies us in continuing that confidence in the difficulties which are to come.

Now, whatever else may be said of the conduct of her Majesty's government, I think those who examine it carefully will find that it follows a certain rule and system, and that in that sense, if in no other, it is consistent. Their conduct at the beginning of the Egyptian affair has been analogous to their conduct at the end; throughout there has been an unwillingness to come to any requisite decision till the last moment.

There has been an absolute terror of fixing upon any settled course, and the result has been that, when the time came that external pressure forced a decision on some definite course, the moment for satisfactory action had already passed, and the measures that were taken were taken in haste, with little preparation, and often with little fitness for the emergencies with which they had to cope. The conduct of the government has been an alternation of periods of slumber and periods of rush. The rush, however vehement, has been too unprepared and too unintelligent to repair the damage which the period of slumber has effected. . . .

Now, my lords, these three things, the case of the bombardment of Alexandria, the abandonment of the Sudan, and the mission of General Graham's force—they are all on the same plan, and they all show that remarkable characteristic of torpor during the time that action was needed, and of impulsive, hasty, and ill-considered action when the moment for action had passed by.

Their future conduct was modeled on their conduct in the past. So far was it modeled that we were able to put it to the test which establishes a scientific law. The proof of scientific law is when you can prophesy from previous experience what will happen in the future. It is exactly what took place in the present instance. We had had these three instances of the mode of working of her Majesty's government before us. We knew the laws that guided their action, as astronomers, observing the motions of a comet, can discover by their observations the future path which that comet is to travel; and we prophesied what would happen in the case of General Gordon.

My right honorable friend Sir Stafford Northcote prophesied it in the House of Commons, and was met by a burst

of fury from the prime minister such as that assembly has seldom seen. He was told that Egypt was of much less importance than, I think, Sutherland or Caithness, that everything wrong was the result of deficits imputed to him in the finances of some ten years ago, and he was generally denounced because he interfered with the beneficent legislation on the subject of capable citizens, and so forth, by introducing the subject of Egypt as many as seventeen times. That did not prevent his prophecies being correct, and I ventured to repeat them in this house.

I do not like to quote my own words; it is egotistical; but as proof of what I call the accuracy of the scientific law, I should like to refer to what I said on the fourth of April, when we were discussing the prospect of the relief of General Gordon. The government were maintaining that he was perfectly safe, and that it was very unreasonable for us to raise the question in Parliament. What I said was this:

"Are these circumstances encouraging to us, when we are asked to trust to the inspiration of the moment, that when the danger comes the government will find some means of relieving General Gordon? I feel that the history of the past will be again repeated, and just again when it is too late the critical resolution will be taken. The same news will come that the position of Gordon is forlorn and helpless, and then some desperate resolution of sending an expedition will be formed too late to achieve its object."

I quote these words to show that we had ascertained the orbits of those eccentric comets who sit on the treasury bench. Now, the terrible responsibility and blame which rests upon them does so because they were warned in March and April of the danger of General Gordon; they had received every intimation which men could reasonably look for that his danger would be extreme, and delayed it from March and April right down to the fifteenth of August before they took a single measure.

What were they doing all that time? It is very difficult to conceive. Some people have said, but I think it is an unreasonable supposition, that the cause of the tardiness of her Majesty's government was the accession to the Cabinet of the noble earl, the secretary for the colonies [Earl of

Derby]. I have quoted partly with the object of defending the noble lord from that charge for I have quoted to show that the government were almost as bad before he joined them as they were after. What happened during these eventful months?

I suppose one day some memoirs will tell our grandchildren but we shall never know. Some people think there were divisions in the Cabinet and that, after division and division, the decision was put off in order that the Cabinet should not be broken up. I am rather inclined to think that it was due to the peculiar position of the prime minister. He came in as the apostle of the Midlothian campaign loaded with the doctrines and the follies of that pilgrimage. We have seen it on each occasion after each one of these mishaps when the government has been forced by events and the common sense of the nation to take some more active steps. We have seen how his extreme supporters in that campaign have reproached him as he deserted their opinions and disappointed their ardent hopes. I think that he always felt the danger of that reproach and the debt he had incurred to those supporters and felt a dread lest they should break away and put off again and again till the last practical moment any action which might bring him into open conflict with the doctrines by which his present eminence was gained.

At all events, this is clear, that throughout those six months the government knew perfectly well the danger in which General Gordon was placed. It has been said that General Gordon did not ask for troops. Well, I am surprised at that defense. One of the characteristics of General Gordon was the extreme abnegation of his nature. It was not to be expected that he should send home a telegram to say, "I am in great danger, therefore send me troops." He would probably have cut off his right hand before he would have sent such a telegram. But he did send a telegram that the people of Khartum were in danger, and that the Mahdi must win unless military succor was sent forward, and distinctly telling the government—and this is the main point—that unless they would consent to his views the supremacy of the Mahdi was assured.

This is what he said not later than the twenty-ninth of

February, almost as soon as he first saw the nature of the problem with which he had been sent to deal. It is impossible that General Gordon could have spoken more clearly than he did, but Mr. Power, who was one of the three Englishmen in Khartum, and who was sent down with Stewart on that ill-fated journey, on the twenty-third of March sent a telegram saying: "We are daily expecting British troops; we cannot bring ourselves to believe that we are to be abandoned by the government. Our existence depends on England."

My lords, is it conceivable that after that—two months after that—in May, the prime minister should have said that the government were waiting to have reasonable proof that Gordon was in danger? By that time Khartum was surrounded, and the governor of Berber had announced that his case was desperate, which was too surely proved by the massacre which took place in June.

And yet in May Mr. Gladstone was waiting for reasonable proof that they were in danger. Apparently he did not get that proof till August.

I may note in passing that I think the interpretation which the government have placed upon the language of their trusted officers has been exceedingly ungenerous. They told us that they did not think it necessary to send an expedition to relieve Sinkat and Tokar because they could quote some language of hope from the dispatches of General Baker, and in the same way they could quote some language of hope from the dispatches of General Gordon.

But a general sent forward on a dangerous expedition does not like to go whining for assistance, unless he is pressed by absolute peril. All those great qualities which go to make men heroes are such as are absolutely incompatible with such a course, and lead them to shrink as from a great disgrace from any unnecessary appeal for exertion for their protection. It was the business of the government not to interpret General Gordon's telegrams as if they had been statutory declarations, but to judge for themselves of the circumstances of the case, and to see that those who were surrounded, who were the only three Englishmen among this vast body of Mohammedans, who were already cut off from all communication with the

civilized world by the occupation of every important town upon the river, were in real danger.

I cannot understand what blindness fell over the eyes of some members of the government. Lord Hartington, on the thirteenth of May, gave utterance to this expression: "I say it would be an indelible disgrace if we should neglect any means at the disposal of this country for saving General Gordon."

And after that announcement by the minister chiefly responsible, three months elapsed before any step was taken for doing that which he admitted the government were bound to do under the penalty of indelible disgrace. It has been said that Gordon was destroyed by treachery, and that treachery would have happened at any time when the British army came near Khartum. What does that extraordinary theory mean?

It means that the Mahdi had agreed with Farag Bey that it was much more comfortable to go on besieging, and that until Lord Wolseley made it dangerous they would go on besieging. I think those who started that unreasonable theory could hardly have been aware of the straits to which the Mahdi had been put. His army was suffering from fever, from cholera, from smallpox; there was great danger of dealing with his men, who were constantly threatening mutiny and desertion. Never was a force more hardly put to it to maintain its position than was this; and depend upon it, if he could have shortened that period of trial by an hour he would certainly have done so. But, supposing it was true that treachery was certain to do its work, what does that prove? Does it not show that sending Gordon to Khartum was an act of extreme folly?

I do not know any other instance in which a man has been sent to maintain such a position without a certain number of British troops. If the British troops had been there, treachery would have been impossible; but sending Gordon by himself to rely on the fidelity of Africans and Egyptians was an act of extreme rashness, and if the government succeed in proving, which I do not think they can, that treachery was inevitable, they only pile up an additional reason for their condemnation. I confess it is very difficult

to separate this question from the personal matters involved. It is very difficult to argue it on purely abstract grounds without turning for a moment to the character of the man who was engaged and the terrible position in which he was placed.

When we consider all that he underwent, all that he sacrificed in order to serve the government in a moment of extreme exigency, there is something infinitely pathetic in reflecting on his feelings, as day after day, week after week, month after month passed by—as he spared no exertions, no personal sacrifice, to perform the duties that were placed upon him—as he lengthened out the siege by inconceivable prodigies of ingenuity, of activity, of resource—and as, in spite of it all, in spite of the deep devotion to his country which had prompted him to this great risk and undertaking, the conviction gradually grew upon him that his country had abandoned him.

It is terrible to think what he must have suffered when at last, as a desperate measure to save those he loved, he parted with the only two Englishmen with whom during those long months he had had any converse, and sent Stewart and Power down the river to escape from the fate which had become inevitable to himself. It is very painful to think of the reproaches to his country and to his country's government that must have passed through the mind of that devoted man during those months of unmerited desertion. In Gordon's letter of the fourteenth of December he said: "All is up. I expect a catastrophe in ten days' time; it would not have been so if our people had kept me better informed as to their intentions."

They had no intentions to inform him of. They were merely acting from hand to mouth to avert the parliamentary censure with which they were threatened. They had no plan, they had no intentions to carry out. If they could have known their intentions, a great hero would have been saved to the British army, a great disgrace would not have fallen on the English government.

Now, by the light of this sad history, what are the prospects for the future? Was there ever a time when clearness of plan and distinctness of policy were more required than they are now? I am not going to say that the policy of government is bad. It would be paying them an extravagant

compliment if I said so. They have no policy. My right honorable friend Mr. Gibson epigrammatically described their policy when he said, "They were going to Khartum to please the Whigs, and were going to abandon Khartum to please the Radicals."

Is there not something strange that at such a crisis of our country's fate, in both houses of Parliament, in the press, in society, and everywhere you hear people asking what is their policy, and can get no answer? Here and there you get a distant echo of policy, something vague and ill-defined, like a distant sound to which you can attach no definite meaning. You sometimes for a moment see the phantom of a policy, but if you try to grasp it, it escapes you.

We used to think the policy of the government was the evacuation of the Sudan as soon as the military operations were over—a very bad policy—but even that does not seem to be their policy. They do not know whether they are going to evacuate the Sudan or not. They don't know who is to hold the Sudan—it may be the Italians, it may be the Turks, or the Chinese.

On one point only do they put down their foot, and that is, the Egyptians shall not keep it. We were told that they were going to smash the Mahdi, but now we are to make peace with the smashed Mahdi. If you smash the Mahdi thoroughly, he will be of no use to you, and if you do not smash him thoroughly he may maintain at the bottom of his heart a certain resentment against the process of being smashed.

It is probable that the Mahdi, in fulfillment of the claim of the religious position he occupies, will decline to have any dealings with the infidel; and if you crush him so entirely by force of arms, he will have lost all his position in the minds of his countrymen; and you will in his assistance or support not find any solution of the terrible problem with which you have to deal.

In the same way with the railway. So far as I know, it is unprecedented to project a railway through an enemy's country, but it implies some views of policy. It appears that her Majesty's government are going to make a railway, and then leave it to the first comers to do what they like with it. Now, it appears to me that in this matter of our Egyptian policy,

though I do not say we can lay down the precise steps by which our ends may be obtained—this must depend in a great measure on the judgment of the ministry—still, it is time when we should conceive to ourselves what the ends of our policy are to be, and clearly define it and follow it up with consistency and persistency.

Now, let us examine what are the interests of England in this matter. With Mediterranean politics as such we have no great interest to concern ourselves; but Egypt stands in a peculiar position. It is the road to India. The condition of Egypt can never be indifferent to us, and, more than that, we have a duty to insist—that our influence shall be predominant there. I do not care by what technical arrangements that result is to be obtained; but, with all due regard to the rights of the suzerain, the influence of England in Egypt must be supreme.

Now, the influence of England in Egypt is threatened from two sides. It is threatened from the north diplomatically. I do not think it is necessary that the powers should have taken up the position they have done, and I believe that with decent steering it might have been avoided; but, unfortunately, we have to face inchoate schemes which will demand the utmost jealousy and vigilance of Parliament. I do not know what arrangement the government has arrived at, but I greatly fear that it may include a multiple control, and to that I believe this country will be persistently and resolutely hostile.

But we have to face a danger of another kind. We have forces of fanatical barbarians let loose upon the south of Egypt, and owing to the blunders that have been committed this danger has reached a terrible height. Unless we intend to give over Egypt to barbarism and anarchy, we must contrive to check this inroad of barbarian fanaticism, which is personified in the character and action of the Mahdi. General Gordon never said a truer thing than that you do this by simply drawing a military line. If the insurgent Mohammedans reach the north of Egypt, it will not be so much by their military force as by the moral power of their example. We have therefore to check this advance of the Mahdi's power.

Her Majesty's government in the glimpses of policy which

they occasionally afford us have alluded to the possibility of setting up a good government in the Sudan. I quite agree that a good government is essential to us in the Sudan. It is the only dike we can really erect to keep out this inundation of barbarism and fanatical forces.

But her Majesty's government speak as if a good government were a Christmas present, which you can give a country and then take away. A good government, like any other organization, must pass through the stages of infancy to maturity. There must be a long stage of infancy, during which that government is unable to defend itself, and it requires during that period protection and security, which it can only derive from the action of an external power. It is that protection and security which England must give. She must not desert her task in the Sudan until there is that government there which can protect Egypt, in which the interests of this country are vital. I do not say whether it shall be done from the Nile or from Suakin.

I see a noble lord, one of the greatest ornaments of this house, who has conducted an expedition, not of two hundred and fifty miles, but of four hundred miles, and that with success, over the same burning country, and his opinion, given last year, was that Suakin and Berber are the roads by which we should advance. In that opinion I do not say I concur—that would be impertinent—but it is an opinion to which I humbly subscribe. I believe that by the Suakin and Berber route we may obtain a hold over that portion of the Sudan which may enable us to perform our primary duty—namely, to repress the forces of barbarism and fanaticism, to encourage that civilization which, if protected, will find such abundant root in that fertile country, and, above all, to restrain, check, and ultimately to destroy the slave trade, which has been the curse of Africa.

All those advantages can be obtained if England will lay down a definite policy and will adhere to it, but consistency of policy is absolutely necessary. We have to assure our friends that we shall stand by them; we have to assure our enemies that we are permanently to be feared. The blunders of the last three years have placed us in the presence of terrible problems and difficulties. We have great sacrifices to make.

This railway will be an enormous benefit to Africa, but do not let us conceal from ourselves that it is a task of no small magnitude. If you are to carry this railway forward, you will not only have to smash the Mahdi, but Osman Digma also.

All this will involve great sacrifices and the expenditure not only of much money, but of more of the English blood of which the noblest has already been poured forth. And we are not so strong as we were. At first all nations sympathized with us, but now they look on us coldly, and even with hostility. Those who were our friends have become indifferent, those who were indifferent have become our adversaries; and if our misfortunes and disasters go on much longer we shall have Europe saying that they cannot trust us, that we are too weak, that our prestige is too low to justify us in undertaking this task.

My lords, those great dangers can only be faced by a consistent policy, which can only be conducted by a ministry capable of unity of counsel and decision of purpose. I have shown you that from this ministry we can expect no such results. They can only produce after their kind. They will only do what they have already done. You cannot look for unity of counsel from an administration that is hopelessly divided. You cannot expect a resolute policy from those whose purpose is hopelessly halting.

It is for this reason, my lords, that I ask you to record your opinion that from a ministry in whom the first of all—the quality of decision of purpose—is wanting, you can hope no good in this crisis of our country's fate. And if you continue to trust them, if for any party reasons Parliament continues to abandon to their care the affairs which they have hitherto so hopelessly mismanaged, you must expect to go on from bad to worse; you must expect to lose the little prestige which you retain; you must expect to find in other portions of the world the results of the lower consideration that you occupy in the eyes of mankind; you must expect to be drawn on, degree by degree, step by step, under the cover of plausible excuses, under the cover of highly philanthropic sentiments, to irreparable disasters, and to disgrace that it will be impossible to efface.

JOHN MORLEY

HOME RULE FOR IRELAND

[John Morley, an English statesman and man of letters, was born in Blackburn, England, in 1838. He graduated at Oxford and has since received many degrees from the leading universities of his country. Upon completing his education, he took up literary work and made himself famous in a few years by his essays and studies. He has at different times been editor of the "Fortnightly Review," the "Pall Mall Gazette," "Macmillan's Magazine," and the "Literary Gazette." His works include volumes of collected essays, biographical studies, the monumental Life of Gladstone, and his own Reminiscences. Brilliant as is his career as a man of letters, many of his admirers consider it eclipsed by his record as a statesman. He has played a great part in carrying through the policies of Liberalism. Elected to Parliament in 1883, he was twice chief secretary for Ireland, and the able lieutenant of Gladstone in the long campaign for Home Rule. In 1905 he became Secretary of State for India and in 1908 was made Viscount Morley of Blackburn. He resigned from the cabinet on the outbreak of the World War. The following speech regarding home rule in Ireland was delivered at Oxford, before the Oxford Debating Club, in 1888.]

SIR: This is not my maiden speech to the Oxford Union, therefore it is not upon that ground that I venture to claim your indulgence. I was warned before I came here—and what I have heard since does not alter the weight of that warning—that I must be prepared to face a decisively hostile majority.

I am sure that many of you, though you have other things to do than to follow very closely the history of Ireland, and of the good and bad movements in Ireland, must be well aware that the great bane of Ireland and of Scotland when they cross the seas—whether they go to the United States or to the English colonies—has been secret association.

The great triumph, I will say, of the League and of the national movement since the year 1880 has been that those associations which formerly were secret, and therefore dangerous, are now open and will be open as long as this most reckless

government will allow them to be. Ask yourselves—I appeal to your candor—ask yourselves whether, if treason is taught, and if murder is hatched, is treason likely to be taught, is murder likely to be hatched, in open meetings?

No, it is impossible. But what is possible? I am afraid that what is certain is, that if you repress public combination—if you go through that odious and ridiculous process which is called driving discontent beneath the surface—if you do that, you are taking the surest steps that can be taken to have treason taught and murder hatched.

Now, I ask gentlemen here before the vote to-night—or, at all events, to turn it over in their minds after they have voted,—whether the goal is being reached by the present policy, a policy which the rejection of this resolution encourages and endorses.

I am not talking away from the resolution, because I am trying to call the attention of gentlemen to the alternative of the policy set out in the resolution of the honorable mover. I hope, therefore, you will agree that I am keeping close to the point. The point is the alternative of the policy of Home Rule. We have had, since the session began, a series of debates in the House of Commons upon the administration of the Coercion Act.

Of course I am not an impartial witness, but I think that the subtle something which is called the impression of a great assembly, the impression of the House of Commons, is that the government have not shown that they have attained any of the ends which they proposed to themselves when they passed this piece of legislation. All the tests that can be applied to the success of the operation of that Act appear to me to show that it has achieved none of the ends that were proposed.

Have they put down the League? It is perfectly certain that the League is as strong as ever. I know that an attempt is made to make out the contrary case, but from any test that you can apply to the strength of the League, whether it be to the number of branches, to the copiousness of subscriptions, or to the numbers at the meetings—according to any of these tests, so far as I can make out, the League is not in the least degree weakened.

Have they put down the plan of campaign? It is very clear

that the plan of campaign has not been put down. It is true, to come to a third point, that there is a great decline in boycotting. That is quite true, but the point that you have got to make good is that the decline in boycotting is due to the government policy. There are more explanations than one for the decline of boycotting.

If you want my explanation, since you have been so very kind as to ask me to come here, and are so good as to listen to me so attentively, my explanation is that the decline of boycotting is due, first of all, to the fact that a great many of the boycotted persons have wisely, or unwisely, yielded to and joined the League; and, secondly, what is a far more important consideration, boycotting has declined because a great many landlords have, under pressure, or from other motives, made those reductions which equity required and which the peace of the country demanded.

Now, I think it is very important that you should try to realize for yourselves what the policy of coercion is in actual practice. I am not going to detain this House very long by reading extracts. One of the most respected lawyers in the North of England and a very old friend of mine, who is a very experienced man, was in the court of Galway on the thirteenth of this month during a trial of twelve men for rioting. This is what he says:—

"There was a great crowd to welcome Mr. Blunt on the evening of January 7. When Mr. Blunt was brought to the jail at Galway the people were orderly on the whole, but they cheered for Mr. Blunt, and they pushed through the police at the station in their anxiety to see Mr. Blunt."

Was there any harm in that? My friend goes on to say that orders were given to clear the station. I will ask you to mark that I am not criticizing what happened. I want to get you into court. My friend goes on to say:—

"The station was cleared in half a minute, the police batoning the people and knocking them down. What attempt was made on February 13 to bring any offense home to the twelve accused persons? All that could be urged against them was that they had waited for and had cheered Mr. Blunt."

And I think they had as much right to do so as if they had been in Oxford station. To continue:—

"The charge was not dismissed, it was adjourned and resumed on February 14, the next day. The Crown then called four fresh policemen, of whose evidence no notice had been given to the accused, and these four fresh policemen told a new tale. The crowd, which, according to the evidence of the day before, was described as orderly, was now described as disorderly. It was now represented that the police had been interfered with and were in actual peril. There was stone-throwing, but it was outside the station, and no attempt was made to connect the accused with anything that took place outside the station, or anything worse than shouting or cheering. The result was that eleven or twelve of the accused men were sentenced to a fortnight's or a month's imprisonment with hard labor; and one of them calling out that he would do the same again, the magistrate, with what I must call a truly contemptible vindictiveness, said, 'You shall have another week's imprisonment for saying that.' The upshot of the whole case was that these men—two of them, mind you, town commissioners, respected public men in the confidence of their fellow citizens—were punished, not for concerting a riotous meeting, not for throwing stones, not for attacking the police, not for doing anything to alarm reasonable and courageous persons, but simply for waving their hats and caps in honor of Mr. Blunt."

Now, I say that is, unfortunately, a typical case. [Cries of "No!"] Yes it is a typical case. If gentlemen who doubt that will take the trouble, as I have done, to read the reports from day to day of what goes on in these courts, if they will take the trouble to hear evidence that Englishmen, not partisan Irishmen, have seen administered in these courts, they will agree that this is a typical case, that men are treated violently, that they are then summoned for an offense which is not properly proved—[a cry of "No!"]—what I say I hope to show in a moment—and for acts which are not in themselves an offense or a crime.

Somebody protested when I used the word "prove." I will ask him, and I will ask the House, to listen to a little extract which I am going to read to show the kind of evidence which in these courts is thought good enough. It is the case of a certain Irish member, Mr. Sheehy, who was convicted, and this is a very short passage from the cross-examination of the shorthand writer. Mr. Sheehy was brought up for words spoken; it was vitally important to know what were the words spoken,

for which he was about to have inflicted upon him a very severe punishment. This is, in a very few words, a passage from the cross-examination of the government reporter:—

"'Did you ever study shorthand?'

"'I did not. I might look over the book, but that is all. As far as I know, shorthand is not studied by any man in the barracks. There was no constable, to my knowledge, in Trench Park on the day of the meeting who knew shorthand. The meeting lasted from three o'clock till a quarter to five, and Mr. Sheehy was speaking the greater part of the time. When Mr. Sheehy spoke a sentence or a sentence and a half, I took down all I could remember at the time. I took no note of what he would be saying while I was taking down the two sentences which I remembered at the time. I consider Mr. Sheehy a slow speaker.'

"'While you would be writing a sentence, how many sentences would he get ahead of you?'

"'Well,' said the constable or reporter, 'he might get two or three.'

"'Then when you would complete your sentence, would you skim over what he had said in the meantime and then catch him up again?'

"'Yes, I would try and remember what he would say in the meantime.'

"'When you say that you would try and remember, what do you mean?'

"'I mean that when I heard a sentence or two I would take that down, and pay no attention to what he would say in the meantime.'"

How many gentlemen here must have been in English courts and heard the careful, austere, and impressive standards which the judges of those courts apply to evidence. I say, when you hear such evidence as that, do you not think you are listening to the proceedings of a court in a comic opera? Pray remark that in a charge of this kind a phrase or a qualification of a phrase may be of vital importance. It may make all the difference in the construction and the interpretation that the court would put upon a word spoken, and yet you see that the qualifying phrases and words might have been dropped out while the reporter was taking down the other sentences. It is a sheer caricature of evidence.

I must inflict one more story upon you—it is the last—because you must know it is no use using vague general words about coercion. Realize what coercion means. I ought to say that those words I have just read and that case was mentioned in the House of Commons. Those words were read out in the

House of Commons. No answer was attempted to them by the government. I am not going to use any case which has not been challenged in the House of Commons.

Well, here is a case of a certain Patrick Corcoran. Patrick Corcoran is the foreman printer of the Cork "Examiner." He is therefore purely a mechanic. He was tried, his name being on the imprint of the newspaper, for publishing proceedings of the suppressed branches of the National League. On the hearing of the first summons the joint editor and manager came forward and said he alone was responsible for everything that appeared in the paper, and that Corcoran was a mere mechanic and had no power or control in any sense or degree over the matter published. Well, of course, as he had no control over the matter published, he could not have what the lawyers call that guilty mind which was necessary, according to the Act, for the commission of the offense; because the Act requires that this publication should be uttered with a view of promoting the objects of the incriminated association. Well, Corcoran, this mechanic, was sent to prison for a month. [Cries of "Shame!"]

Yes, and mark the point. Most of you know, that if a sentence is for more than a month, then there is a right of appeal. Corcoran's counsel implored the Bench to add a week to the sentence so that there might be this right of appeal, or else to state a case for a superior court, which would have been the same thing. The magistrate refused even that. That is rather sharp; but that was not all. They took up another charge, in substance the same, for publishing reports of meeting number two, and on the footing of the second summons they gave Corcoran another month's imprisonment. I hope gentlemen see the point—that by this method of accumulated penalties they managed to give him a two months sentence, and yet to deprive him of the right to appeal which he would have had from a single two months sentence.

These are illustrations which I commend to the attention of gentlemen who oppose this resolution, because they are inevitable features in the system which is the alternative to the system advocated in the resolution. [Cries of "No, no!"]

Well, I will have one word to say about that in one moment. But I ask you, in the meantime: Can you wonder that under

such circumstances as those of which I have given you three actual illustrations—that Irishmen do not respect the law and do not revere the tribunals where that law is administered?

Imagine how the existence of such a state of things would affect you who are Englishmen. Would you endure to be under exceptional repressive legislation of this kind so administered? I do not believe you would. Englishmen never have acquiesced in legislation and administration of that kind; they have fought against it from age to age, and Irishmen will rightly fight against it from age to age.

I listened with especial interest, and, if I may say so, with admiration to the speech of the gentleman who preceded me, in whom I am glad to recognize the germs of hereditary gifts; and, if it is not impertinent in me to say so, I hope he will continue to cultivate those remarkable gifts; and—forgive me for saying so—I hope he may one day use them in a better cause. The honorable gentleman struck the keynote. I accept that note. He said, "Think of the sons and daughters of Ireland."

Think of the sons and daughters of Ireland; it is for their sake as much as for our own, not more, but as much—it is for the sake of the sons and daughters of Ireland that I am and have been an advocate of giving Ireland responsibility and self-government. Can you wonder? Put yourselves in the place of the sons and daughters of Ireland. These transactions, of which I have given you a very inadequate specimen, fill their minds. They hear scarcely anything else in the speeches of their leaders and in the talk of those in whom they have confidence. They talk of these things when they meet at fairs, when they meet at chapel, when they meet at athletic sports. And they read scarcely anything else in the newspapers. And if they cannot read, then their children read these proceedings out to them.

Now think of a generation growing up in this demoralizing and poisoned atmosphere of defiance and suspicion and resentment, and think whether you are doing your duty; think how you are preparing for the growth of a generation in Ireland in whom the spirit of citizenship shall be wholesome and shall be strong. It is of no avail to tell me that a lawyer in his study has this or that objection to this or that section. What I see in Ireland is a population in whom you are doing your best to

breed want of reverence for the law, distrust of the tribunals, and resentment against the British rule which fastens that yoke upon their necks.

When I said that the government were pursuing a policy of pure repression, somebody objected. I should like him to be kind enough to tell me what other dish there is on the ministerial table for Ireland, except repression. Let us go to the law and the testimony. We used to be told—I see old and respected friends of mine around me who are Liberal Unionists, and their party used to say that they would not assent to home rule, but that they would assent to an extension of local government in Ireland. [A cheer.]

I am glad to hear that cheer, but it is a very forlorn cry. I will ask you for a single instant to listen to the history of the promise of the extension of local government in Ireland. In 1842, forty-six long years ago, a commission reported in favor of amending the system of county government in Ireland. A bill was brought in to carry out that recommendation in 1849. It was rejected. It was brought in in 1853, and it was rejected; again in 1856 it was rejected; again another in 1857, which also was rejected.

Then there was a pause in the process of rejection until 1868, when a Parliament and the government of the day resorted to the soothing and comforting plan of appointing a select committee. That, just like the previous commission, issued a copious and an admirable report, but nothing more was done. In 1875 a bill was brought in for county reform in Ireland, and in 1879 another bill was brought in which did not touch the evils that called for remedy.

In 1881, in the time of the Gladstone administration, and at a time when Ireland, remember, was in a thousand times worse condition than the most sinister narrator can say she is now, the queen in her speech was made to say that a bill for the extension of local government of Ireland would be brought in; nothing was done.

In 1886 the distinguished man whom you had here last week, himself said—and I heard him say it one afternoon—he made this promise in the name of the government of which he was a leading and an important member—that it was the firm intention of the government to bring in a measure with a view of

placing all control of local government in Ireland in the hands of the Irish people.

Some of you cry, "Hear, hear," but that is all gone. Listen to what Lord Hartington, the master of the government, has since said. The noble lord has said that no scheme for the extension of local government in Ireland can be entertained until there has been a definite repudiation of nationality by the Irish people. I do not want to press that too far, but at all events you will agree with me that it postpones the extension of local government in Ireland to a tolerably remote day.

Do not let Liberal Unionists deceive themselves by the belief that there is going to be a moderate extension of local government for Ireland. Do not let them retain any such illusion. Proposals for local government will follow these royal commissions, committees, bills, motions, into limbo, and we shall hear no more of extension of local government. This is only one illustration among many others, which, taken together, amount to a demonstration of the unfitness and incompetence of our imperial Parliament for dealing with the political needs, the admitted and avowed political needs, of Ireland.

One speaker said something about fisheries. There was a select committee appointed in 1884, and there was another royal commission reporting a few weeks ago, but I am not sanguine enough to think that more will be done in consequence of the recommendations of that commission than has been done in consequence of the recommendation of others.

Again, there are the Irish railways. I was wrong, by the way, that a royal commission was on fisheries—it was on Irish industries generally, fisheries included. On the question of railways there was a royal commission in 1867, and a small committee was appointed in 1868. There were copious and admirable reports. There is another copious and admirable report laid on the table of the House of Commons this week. Nothing has been done, and I do not believe anything will be done. That is another field in which Ireland abounds in requirements and necessities, and which the British Parliament has not the power, knowledge, or inclination to deal with or to touch.

One gentleman who spoke to-night with great ability—and if people think these things I do not know why they should

not be said—reproduced to my regret the old talk about the Hottentots. I confess this is the most painful part of the present controversy—that there should be men (I am sure he is one of them) of generous minds, of public spirit and patriotism, who talk, and sincerely talk of union, and the incorporation of Ireland with Britain, and yet think that this kind of language, and what is far more, this kind of feeling, is a way likely to produce incorporation and union.

I have seen a good deal of Irishmen. I saw a great, a tremendous crowd of Irishmen the other day on their own soil. They comported themselves,—many tens and scores of thousands of them,—comported themselves with a good humor, a perfect order, a temper generally of which any capital in Europe—London, Paris, Berlin, or Vienna—might have been proud. I think you can do something better with such a people than alienate them by calling them and by thinking of them as Hottentots, or as in any way inferior to ourselves. That is not the way to have union and incorporation. That is not the way to make the empire stronger.

And I apply the same to the language that is used about the Irish members. I am not prepared to defend all that the Irish members have said and done. No, and I am not prepared to defend all that English members have done. But I ask here, as I asked in Dublin, is there to be no amnesty? Is there never to be an act of oblivion? These men, after all, have forced upon the British legislature, and have extorted from the British legislature, laws for the benefit of their own downtrodden and oppressed people. Those laws were either right or wrong. If they were wrong, the British legislature ought not to have passed them. If they were right, you ought to be very much obliged to the Irish members for awakening your sense of equity and of right.

I return again—I am going to conclude in a moment—I return again to the point. You have the future in your hands, because what has been said is true; the future depends upon the opinions of the men between twenty and thirty, which, I take it, is the average of the audience I have the honor of addressing. What is the condition of Ireland?

Here, too, I will repeat what I said in Dublin. In Ireland you have a beggared gentry; a bewildered peasantry; a random

and harsh and aimless system of government; a population fevered by political power and not sobered by political responsibility. This is what you have to deal with; and I say here, with a full sense of important responsibility, that rather than go on in face of that distracted picture, with the present hard, incoherent, cruel system of government in Ireland, rather than do that, I would assent to the proposal that has been made, if that were the only alternative, by a great representative of the Unionist party, by Lord Grey.

And what does Lord Grey suggest? Lord Grey suggests that the lord-lieutenant should be appointed for ten years, and during those ten years—it is a strong order—during those ten years he is to make what laws he thinks fit without responsibility either to ministers or to Parliament. It is a strong order, but I declare—and I believe that Mr. Parnell has said that he agrees—that I would rather see Ireland made a crown colony to-morrow than go on in the present hypocritical and inefficient system of sham representation. You may have the severity of paternal repression, but you will have the beneficence of paternal solicitude and supervision. What you now have is repression and neglect; and repression and neglect you will have until you call the Irish leaders into council and give to the majority of the Irish people that power in reality which now they have only in name.

One minute more and I will sit down.

The resolution raises very fairly the great issue that now divides and engages all serious minds in this country—the issue which has broken up a great political party, which has tried and tested more than one splendid reputation, and in which the Liberal party have embarked all their hopes and fortunes as resolutely and as ungrudgingly as their forefathers did in the case of Catholic emancipation. The opponents of this resolution ought to have told us, what no opponent to-night did tell us—for I listened very carefully—they ought to have told us what it is they mean. Merely to vote a blank and naked negative to this resolution? It is not enough, it cannot be all, merely to say "No" to this resolution. You are not going through the familiar process of rejecting an academic or an abstract proposition.

In refusing this proposition you are adopting an amendment.

I have taken the liberty to draft a Unionist amendment. I will gladly place it in the hands of any Unionist member who may think it expedient to move it. This is the alternative amendment to the resolution of the honorable mover.

"That, inasmuch as coercion, after being tried in every form and under all varieties, has failed to bring to Ireland that order and content we all earnestly desire, coercion shall be made the permanent law of the land; That, as perfect equality between England and Ireland is the key to a sound policy, coercion shall be the law in Ireland and shall not be the law in England; That, as decentralization and local government have been long recognized and constantly promised as a necessary reform in Irish affairs, the time has at length arrived for definitely abandoning all reform in Irish local government; That, since the backward condition, and the many admitted needs of Ireland urgently call for the earnest and unremitting attention of her rulers, the exclusive attention of this Parliament shall be devoted to the consideration of English, Scotch, and Welsh affairs; That, in view of the fact that representative institutions are the glory and strength of the United Kingdom, the constitutional demands of the great majority of the Irish representatives shall be disregarded, and these representatives shall have no voice in Irish affairs, and no share in Irish government; and, finally, That, as Mr. Pitt declared the great object of the union to be to make the empire more secure by making Ireland more free and more happy, it is the duty of every true Unionist to make Ireland more miserable in order to prevent her from being free."

That, sir, is the amendment which you are, I fear, presently going to vote. [Cries of "No!"] Yes you are. That is what you are going to vote, and I have failed in the speech which you have most kindly and indulgently listened to, if you do not see that that amendment with its stream of paradoxes and incoherencies, represents the Unionist policy. That is a policy which judgment condemns and which conscience forbids.

OTTO VON BISMARCK

WAR AND ARMAMENTS IN EUROPE

[On April 1, 1815, Otto von Bismarck, the future molder of the German empire, was born at Schönhausen, in the province of Burgundy. His early years gave little prevision of the future that awaited him. He went to school in Berlin, and thence to the University of Göttingen. In 1847 a decided change came over him when he went as deputy to the first United Diet of Prussia and became allied with the ultra-conservative party. In 1859 he was sent as ambassador to St. Petersburg, where he remained until William I. became king in January, 1861, when he was transferred to Paris, as a preliminary to his appointment to the head of the ministry. To this position he succeeded September 23, 1862. The purpose to which he now addressed his most earnest efforts, and which he finally attained, was the unification of the German states, with Prussia at the head and Austria counted out. Bismarck retained office as chancellor through the brief reign of Frederick, and entered upon that of William II., but came into conflict with him over the question of the treatment of the laboring classes; and after the defeat of the government in the elections of February, 1890, he resigned and retired to his estate in Varzin. He returned for a brief period to public life as a member of the Reichstag, but he soon retired, and died at Friedrichsruhe, July 30, 1898. The speech that follows was made in the German Reichstag in 1888. It shows Bismarck at the height of his power, and embodies the arguments which led to the German militaristic policy. In many ways it is prophetic of the great war which came twenty-six years later, but its views of German patriotism and foreign relations are marked by a sterling sense that was wanting in the policies adopted after Bismarck's death.]

If I rise to speak to-day it is not to urge on your acceptance the measure the president has mentioned [the army appropriation]. I do not feel anxious about its adoption, and I do not believe that I can do anything to increase the majority by which it will be adopted—by which it is all-important at home and abroad that it should be adopted. Gentlemen of all parties have made up their minds how they will vote, and I have the fullest confidence in the German Reichstag that it will restore our armament to the height from which we reduced it in the

period between 1867 and 1882; and this not with respect to the conditions of the moment, nor with regard to the apprehensions which may excite the stock exchanges and the mind of the public; but with a considerate regard for the general condition of Europe. In speaking, I will have more to say of this than of the immediate question.

I do not speak willingly, for under existing conditions a word unfortunately spoken may be ruinous, and the multiplication of words can do little to explain the situation, either to our own people or to foreigners. I speak unwillingly, but I fear that if I kept silent there would be an increase rather than a diminution of the expectations which have attached thmselves to this debate, of unrest in the public mind, of the disposition to nervousness at home and abroad. The public might believe the question to be so difficult and critical that a minister for foreign affairs would not dare to touch upon it. I speak, therefore, but I can say truly that I speak with reluctance. I might limit myself to recalling expressions to which I gave utterance from this same place a year and a day ago. Little change has taken place in the situation since then. I chanced to-day on a clipping from the "Liberal Gazette," a paper which I believe stands nearer to my friend, Representative Richter, than it does to me. It pictures one difficult situation to elucidate another, but I can take only general notice of the main points there touched on, with the explanation that if the situation has since altered, it is for the better rather than for the worse.

We had then our chief apprehension because of a war which might come to us from France. Since then, one peace-loving president has retired from administration in France, and another peace-loving president has succeeded him. It is certainly a favorable symptom that in choosing its new chief executive France has not put its hand into Pandora's box, but that we have assurance of a continuation under President Carnot of the peaceful policy represented by President Grévy. We have, moreover, other changes in the French administration whose peaceful significance is even stronger than that of the change in the presidency—an event which involved other causes. Such members of the ministry as were disposed to subordinate the peace of France and of Europe to their personal interests have been shoved out, and others, of whom we have not this to fear,

have taken their places. I think I can state, also—and I do it with pleasure, because I do not wish to excite, but to calm, the public mind—that our relations with France are more peaceful, much less explosive, than a year ago.

The fears which have been excited during the year have been occasioned more by Russia than by France, or I may say that the occasion was rather the exchange of mutual threats, excitements, reproaches, and provocations which have taken place during the summer between the Russian and the French press. But I do not believe that the situation in Russia is materially different from what it was a year ago. The "Liberal Gazette" has printed in display type what I said then: "Our friendship with Russia sustained no interruption during our war, and it is elevated above all doubt to-day. We expect neither assault nor attack nor unfriendliness from Russia." Perhaps this was printed in large letters to make it easier to attack it; perhaps, also, with the hope that I had reached a different conclusion in the meantime, and had become convinced that my confidence in the Russian policy of last year was erroneous. This is not the case. The grounds which gave occasion for it lie partly in the Russian press and partly in the mobilization of Russian troops. I cannot attach decided importance to the attitude of the press. They say that it means more in Russia than it does in France. I am of the contrary opinion. In France the press is a power which influences the conclusions of the administration. It is not such a power in Russia, nor can it be; but in both cases the press is only spots of printer's ink on paper, against which we have no war to wage. There can be no ground of provocation for us in it. Behind each article is only one man—the man who has guided the pen to send the article into the world. Even in a Russian paper, we may say in an independent Russian paper, secretly supported by French subsidies, the case is not altered. The pen which has written in such a paper an article hostile to Germany has no one behind it but the man whose hand held the pen, the man who in his cabinet produced the lucubration and the protector which every Russian newspaper is wont to have—that is to say, the official more or less important in Russian party politics who gives such a paper his protection. But both of them do not weigh a feather against the authority of his Majesty the Czar of Russia.

Since the great war of 1870 was concluded, has there been any year, I ask you, without its alarm of war? Just as we were returning, at the beginning of the seventies, they said: When will we have the next war? When will the "revanche" be fought? In five years at latest. They said to us then: "The question of whether we will have war, and of the success with which we shall have it (it was a representative of the center who upbraided me with it in the Reichstag), depends to-day only on Russia. Russia alone has the decision in her hands."

Perhaps I will return to this question later. In the meantime, I will continue the pictures of these forty years, and recall that in 1876 a war cloud gathered in the south; that in 1877 the Balkan war was only prevented by the Berlin congress from putting the whole of Europe in a blaze, and that quite suddenly after the congress a new vision of danger was disclosed to us in the East because Russia was offended by our action at the conference. Perhaps, later on, I will recur to this also if my strength will permit.

Then followed a certain reaction in the intimate relations of the three emperors which allowed us to look for some time into the future with more assurance; yet on the first signs of uncertainty in their relations, or because of the lapsing of the agreements they had made with each other, our public opinion showed the same nervous and, I think, exaggerated excitement with which we had to contend last year—which, at the present time, I hold to be especially uncalled for. But because I think this nervousness uncalled for now, I am far from concluding that we do not need an increase of our war footing. On the contrary. Therefore I have unrolled before you this tableau of forty years—perhaps not to your amusement. If not, I beg your pardon, but had I omitted a year from that which you yourselves had experienced with shuddering, the impression might have been lost that the state of anxiety before wars, before continually extending complications, the entanglements of which no one can anticipate—that this condition is permanent with us; that we must reckon upon it as a permanency; and that independently of the circumstances of the moment, with the self-confidence of a great nation which is strong enough under any circumstances to take its fate into its own hands against any

coalition; with the confidence in itself and in God which its own power and the righteousness of its cause, a righteousness which the care of the government will always keep with Germany—that we shall be able to foresee every possibility, and, doing so, to look forward to peace.

The long and the short of it is that in these days we must be as strong as we can; and if we will, we can be stronger than any other country of equal resources in the world. I will return to that. And it would be a crime not to use our resources. If we do not need an army prepared for war, we do not need to call for it. It depends merely on the not very important question of the cost—and it is not very important, though I mention it incidentally. I have no mind to go into figures, financial or military, but France during the last few years has spent in improving her forces three thousand millions, while we have spent hardly fifteen hundred millions, including what we are now asking for. But I leave the ministers of war and of finance to deal with that. When I say that we must strive continually to be ready for all emergencies, I advance the proposition that, on account of our geographical position, we must make greater efforts than other powers would be obliged to make in view of the same ends. We lie in the middle of Europe. We have at least three fronts on which we can be attacked. France has only an eastern boundary; Russia only its western, exposed to assault. We are, moreover, more exposed than any other people to the danger of hostile coalition because of our geographical position, and because, perhaps, of the feeble power of cohesion which, until now, the German people has exhibited when compared with others. At any rate, God has placed us in a position where our neighbors will prevent us from falling into a condition of sloth—of wallowing in the mire of mere existence. On one side of us He has set the French, a most warlike and restless nation; and He has allowed to become exaggerated in the Russians fighting tendencies which had not become apparent in them during the earlier part of the century. So we are spurred forward on both sides to endeavors which, perhaps, we would not make otherwise. The pike in the European carp pond will not allow us to become carp, because they make us feel their stings in both our sides. They force us to an effort which, perhaps,

we would not make otherwise, and they force us also to a cohesion among ourselves as Germans which is opposed to our innermost nature; otherwise we would prefer to struggle with each other. But when we are enfiladed by the press of France and Russia, it compels us to stand together, and through such compression it will so increase our fitness for cohesion that we may finally come into the same condition of indivisibility which is natural to other people—which thus far we have lacked. We must respond to this dispensation of Providence, however, by making ourselves so strong that the pike can do nothing more than encourage us to exert ourselves.

We had, years ago, in the times of the Holy Alliance (I recall an old American song which I learned from my dead friend, Motley:—

> "In good old colonial times,
> When we lived under a king")—

we had then patriarchal times, and with them plenty of stakes wherewith to make a palisade, and plenty of dikes to keep out the wild European floods. That was the German Confederation, and the true beginning, and continuance, and conclusion of the German Confederation was the Holy Alliance, for whose service it was made. We depended on Russia and Austria, and, above everything, we relied on our own modesty, which did not allow us to speak before the rest of the company had spoken. We have lost all that, and we must help ourselves. The Holy Alliance was shipwrecked in the Crimean war—through no fault of ours. The German Confederation has been destroyed by us because our existence under it was neither tolerable for us nor for the German people. Both have ceased to exist. After the dissolution of the German Confederation, after the war of 1866, we would have been obliged to reckon on isolation for Prussia or north Germany, had we been obliged to stop at reckoning with the fact that on no side would they forgive us the new and great successes which we had obtained. Never do other powers look with pleasure on the triumphs of a neighbor. . . .

The bill will bring us an increase of troops capable of bearing arms—a possible increase, which, if we do not need it, we need not call out, but can leave the men at home. But

we will have it ready for service if we have arms for it. And that is a matter of primary importance. I remember the carbine which was furnished by England to our landwehr in 1813, and with which I had some practice as a hunter—that was no weapon for a soldier. We can get arms suddenly for an emergency, but if we have them ready for it, then this bill will count for a strengthening of our peace forces and a reenforcement of the peace league as great as if a fourth great power had joined the alliance with an army of seven hundred thousand men—the greatest yet put in the field.

I think, too, that this powerful reënforcement of the army will have a quieting effect on our own people, and will in some measure relieve the nervousness of our exchanges, of our press, and of our public opinion. I hope they all will be comforted if they make it clear to themselves that after this reenforcement, and from the moment of the signature and publication of the bill, the soldiers are there. But arms are necessary, and we must provide better ones if we wish to have an army of triarians—of the best manhood that we have among our people; of fathers of family over thirty years old. And we must give them the best arms that can be had. We must not send them into battle with what we have not thought good enough for our young troops of the line. But our steadfast men, our fathers of family, our Samsons, such as we remember seeing hold the bridge at Versailles, must have the best arms on their shoulders, and the best clothing which can be had from anywhere to protect them against the weather. We must not be niggardly in this. And I hope it will reassure our countrymen if they think now it will be the case—as I do not believe—that we are likely to be attacked on both sides at once.

There is a possibility of it, for, as I have explained to you in the history of the Forty Years' War, all manner of coalitions may occur. But if it should occur we could hold the defensive on our borders with a million good soldiers. At the same time we could hold in reserve a half million or more—almost a million, indeed—and send them forward as they were needed. Some one has said to me: "The only result of that will be that the others will increase their forces also." But they cannot. They have long ago reached the maximum. We

lowered it in 1867 because we thought that, having the North-German Confederation, we could make ourselves easier and exempt men over thirty-two. In consequence our neighbors have adopted a longer term of service—many of them a twenty-year term. They have a maximum as high as ours, but they cannot touch us in quality. Courage is equal in all civilized nations. The Russians or the French acquit themselves as bravely as the Germans. But our people, our seven hundred thousand men, are veterans trained in service, tried soldiers who have not yet forgotten their training. And no people in the world can touch us in this, that we have the material for officers and under officers to command this army. That is what they cannot imitate. The whole tendency of popular education leads to that in Germany as it does in no other country. The measure of education necessary to fit an officer or under officer to meet the demands which the soldier makes on him exists with us to a much greater extent than with any other people. We have more material for officers and under officers than any other country, and we have a corps of officers that no other country can approach. In this and in the excellence of our corps of under officers, who are really the pupils of our officers' corps, lies our superiority. The course of education which fits an officer to meet the strong demands made on his position for self-denial, for the duty of comradeship, and for fulfilling the extraordinarily difficult social duties whose fulfillment is made necessary among us by the comradeship which, thank God! exists in the highest degree among officers and men without the least detriment to discipline—they cannot imitate us in that—that relationship between officers and men which, with a few unfortunate exceptions, exists in the German army. But the exceptions confirm the rule, and so we can say that no German officer leaves his soldiers under fire, but brings them out even at the risk of his own life; while, on the other hand, no German soldier, as we know by experience, forsakes his officer.

If other armies intend to supply with officers and sub-officers as many troops as we intend to have at once, then they must educate the officers; for no untaught fool is fit to command a company, and much less is he fit to fulfill the difficult duties which an officer owes to his men if he is to keep their

love and respect. The measure of education which is demanded for that, and the qualities which, among us especially, are expressed in comradeship and sympathy by the officer—*that* no rule and no regulation in the world can impress on the officers of other countries. In *that* we are superior to all, and in that they cannot imitate us. On that point I have no fear.

But there is still another advantage to be derived from the adoption of this bill: The very strength for which we strive shows our peaceful disposition. That sounds paradoxical, but still it is true.

No man would attack us when we have such a powerful war machine as we wish to make of the German army. If I were to come before you to-day and say to you—supposing me to be convinced that the conditions are different from what they are—if I were to say to you: "We are strongly threatened by France and Russia; it is evident that we will be attacked; my conviction as a diplomat, considering the military necessities of the case, is that it is expedient for us to take the defensive by striking the first blow, as we are now in a position to do; an aggressive war is to our advantage, and I beg the Reichstag for a milliard or half a milliard to begin it at once against both our neighbors"—indeed, gentlemen, I do not know that you would have sufficient confidence in me to consent. I hope you would not.

But if you were to do it, it would not satisfy me. If we, in Germany, should wish to wage war with the full exertion of our national strength, it must be a war with which all who engage in it, all who offer themselves as sacrifices in it—in short the whole nation, takes part as one man; it must be a people's war; it must be a war carried on with the enthusiasm of 1870, when we were ruthlessly attacked. I well remember the ear-splitting, joyful shouts at the Cologne railway station; it was the same from Berlin to Cologne; and it was the same here in Berlin. The waves of public feeling in favor of war swept us into it whether we wished or not. It must always be so if the power of a people such as ours is to be exerted to the full. It will be very difficult, however, to make it clear to the provinces and states of the confederation and to their peoples that war is now unavoidable and necessary. They would ask: "Are you sure of that? Who knows?" In short,

when we came to actual hostilities, the weight of such imponderable considerations would be much heavier against us than the material opposition we would meet from our enemies. "Holy Russia" would be irritated; France would bristle with bayonets as far as the Pyrenees. It would be the same everywhere. A war which was not decreed by the popular will could be carried on if once the constituted authorities had finally decided on it as a necessity; it would be carried on vigorously, and perhaps successfully, after the first fire and sight of blood. But it would not be a finish fight in its spirit with such fire and *élan* behind it as we would have in a war in which we were attacked. Then all Germany from Memel to Lake Constance would flame out like a powder mine; the country would bristle with arms, and no enemy would be rash enough to join issues with the "furor Teutonicus" thus roused by attack.

We must not lose sight of such considerations, even if we are now superior to our future opponents, as many military critics beside our own consider us to be. All our own critics are convinced of our superiority. Naturally every soldier believes it. He would come very near to being a failure as a soldier if he did not wish for war and feel full assurance of victory. If our rivals sometimes suspect that it is fear of the result which makes us peaceful, they are grievously in error. We believe as thoroughly in the certainty of our victory in a righteous cause as any lieutenant in a foreign garrison can believe in his third glass of champagne—and perhaps we have more ground for our assurance. It is not fear which makes us peaceable, but the consciousness of our strength—the consciousness that if we were attacked at the most unfavorable time, we are strong enough for defense and for keeping in view the possibility of leaving it to the providence of God to remove in the meantime the necessity for war.

I am never for an offensive war, and if war can come only through our initiative, it will not begin. Fire must be kindled by some one before it can burn, and we will not kindle it. Neither the consciousness of our strength, as I have just represented it, nor the trust in our alliances, will prevent us from continuing with our accustomed zeal our accustomed efforts to keep the peace. We will not allow ourselves to be led by bad temper;

we will not yield to prejudice. It is undoubtedly true that the threats, the insults, the provocations which have been directed against us have aroused great and natural animosities on our side. And it is hard to rouse such feelings in the Germans, for they are less sensitive to the dislike of others toward them than any other nation. We are taking pains, however, to soften these animosities, and in the future, as in the past, we will strive to keep the peace with our neighbors—especially with Russia. When I say "especially with Russia," I mean that France offers us no security for the success of our efforts, though I will not say that it does not help. We will never seek occasion to quarrel. We will never attack France. In the many small occasions for trouble which the disposition of our neighbors to spy and to bribe has given us, we have made pleasant and amicable settlements. I would hold it grossly criminal to allow such trifles either to occasion a great national war or to make it probable. There are occasions when it is true that the "more reasonable gives way." I name Russia especially, and I have the same confidence in the result I had a year ago, when my expression gave this "Liberal" paper here occasion for black type. But I have it without running after—or, as a German paper expressed it, "groveling before Russia." That time has gone by. We no longer sue for favor, either in France or in Russia. The Russian press and Russian public opinion have shown the door to an old, powerful and attached friend, as we were. We will not force ourselves upon them. We have sought to regain the old confidential relationship, but we will run after no one. But this does not prevent us from observing—it rather spurs us on to observe with redoubled care—the treaty rights of Russia. Among these treaty rights are some which are not conceded by all our friends: I mean the rights which at the Berlin congress Russia won in the matter of Bulgaria.

In consequence of the resolution of the congress, Russia up to 1885 chose as prince a near relative of the Czar, concerning whom no one asserted or could assert that he was anything else than a Russian dependent. It appointed the minister of war and a greater part of the officials. In short, it governed Bulgaria. There is no possible doubt of it. The Bulgarians, or a part of them, or their prince—I do not know

which—were not satisfied. There was a *coup d'état,* and there has been a defection from Russia. This has created a situation which we have no call to change by force of arms, though its existence does not change theoretically the rights which Russia gained from the conference. But if Russia should seek to establish its rights forcibly, I do not know what difficulties might arise, and it does not concern us to know. We will not support forcible measures and we will not advise them. I do not believe there is any disposition toward them. I am sure no such inclination exists. But if through diplomatic means, through the intervention of the sultan as the suzerain of Bulgaria, Russia seeks its right, then I assume that it is the province of loyal German statesmanship to give an unmistakeable support to the provisions of the Berlin treaty, and to stand by the interpretation which, without exception, we gave it—an interpretation on which the voice of the Bulgarians cannot make me err. Bulgaria, the little state between the Danube and the Balkans, is certainly not of sufficient importance to justify plunging Europe into war from Moscow to the Pyrenees, from the North Sea to the Palermo—a war the issue of which no one could foresee, at the end of which no one could tell what the fighting had been about.

So I can say openly that the position of the Russian press, the unfriendliness we have experienced from Russian public opinion, will not prevent us from supporting Russia in a diplomatic attempt to establish its rights as soon as it makes up its mind to assert them in Bulgaria. I say deliberately, "as soon as Russia expresses the wish." We have put ourselves to some trouble heretofore to meet the views of Russia on the strength of reliable hints; but we have lived to see the Russian press attacking, as hostile to Russia, the very things in German politics which were prompted by a desire to anticipate Russia's wishes. We did that at the congress, but it will not happen again. If Russia officially asks us to support measures for the restoration in Bulgaria of the situation approved by the congress, with the sultan as suzerain, I would not hesitate to advise his Majesty, the emperor, that it should be done. This is the demand which the treaties make on our loyalty to a neighbor with whom, be the mood what it will, we have to maintain neighborly relations and defend great common interests of

monarchy, such as the interests of order against its antagonists in all Europe—with a neighbor, I say, whose sovereign has a perfect understanding in this regard with the allied sovereigns. I do not doubt that when the Czar of Russia finds that the interests of his great empire of a hundred million people require war, he will make war. But his interests cannot possibly prompt him to make war against us. I do not think it at all probable that such a question of interest is likely to present itself. I do not believe that a disturbance of the peace is imminent—if I may recapitulate—and I beg that you will consider the pending measure without regard to that thought or that apprehension, looking on it rather as a full restoration of the mighty power which God has created in the German people—a power to be used if we need it. If we do not need it we will not use it, and we will seek to avoid the necessity for its use. This attempt is made somewhat more difficult by threatening articles in foreign newspapers, and I may give special admonition to the outside world against the continuance of such articles. They lead to nothing. The threats made against us —not by the government, but in the newspapers—are incredibly stupid, when it is remembered that they assume that a great and proud power such as the German empire is capable of being intimidated by an array of black spots made by a printer on paper, a mere marshaling of words. If they would give up that idea, we could reach a better understanding with both our neighbors. Every country is finally answerable for the wanton mischief done by its newspapers, and the reckoning is liable to be presented some day in the shape of a final decision from some other country. We can be bribed very easily—perhaps too easily—with love and good will. But with threats, never!

We Germans fear God, nothing else in the world.

It is the fear of God which makes us love peace and keep it. He who breaks it against us ruthlessly will learn the meaning of the warlike love of the Fatherland which in 1813 rallied to the standard the entire population of the then small and weak kingdom of Prussia; he will learn, too, that this patriotism is now the common property of the entire German nation, so that whoever attacks Germany will find it unified in arms, every warrior having in his heart the steadfast faith that God will be with us.

AUGUST BEBEL

SOCIALISM AND ASSASSINATION

[August Bebel, one of the most conspicuous leaders of the Social-democratic party in German politics, was born in Cologne, 1840, and received his early education in the public school of the neighboring village of Brauweiler. He took up wood-turning as a trade, and in 1860 went to Leipsic as a master turner. From 1861 Bebel warmly espoused the cause of labor in Germany, a cause which since the appearance of Lassalle had assumed a distinctly socialistic character. Bebel became a leader in the Mechanics' Institute at Leipsic, and in 1865 was elected president of it. He served in various offices pertaining to labor associations, turning them as much as possible into strictly political clubs, and thus he must be looked upon as one of the founders of the Social-democratic party. He was an active writer for the press, and was hailed as leader by a host of followers, who, in 1871, elected him to the German Reichstag. From that time on he was active in political life. His speeches were bold and outspoken, and on one occasion he caused a sensation throughout Europe by charging the Emperor William with lunacy. He was, however, no fanatic, but a scientific socialist of the latest school. Bebel was a voluminous writer, as well as an eloquent speaker, and was the author of many fresh and clever books, in which are expounded his revolutionary sentiments. His daring but brilliantly expressed ideas have found high favor among those classes in Europe that are inclined toward socialism and kindred principles. The following speech was made in the Reichstag on November 2, 1898, on the occasion of the Empress of Austria's assassination, and is a fair exposition of Bebel's socialistic views. He died in 1913.]

A LARGE element in the German middle classes has not forgotten the law against the socialists. That law's repeal cost the capitalist class bitter pangs. In their distraction they sought some opportunity to replace it with a statute of an exceptional character, or by a stretching of the common law. Their main reliance in this undertaking was Prince Bismarck. Conflict of opinion as to how the socialists were to be dealt with had led to his retirement. As he never could forget this, he naturally retained his ancient grudge against the social democracy until

his dying day. Bismarck caused it to be stated repeatedly in his personal organ, the "Hamburger Nachrichten," that the only way to deal with the social democrats was to drive them to deeds of desperation, pursue them into the streets, and there shoot them down. [Groans.] No demonstration, I beg. Let us rejoice in the frankness of our opponents.

Then came the summer of 1894, with Caserio's attack upon Carnot in Lyons. It might reasonably be asked how Germany can be affected by the occurrence of an assassination in a neighboring country. German citizens were concerned in it neither directly nor indirectly. Nor has so much as an effort to establish the contrary been made in any quarter. Yet the fact that a foreign anarchist in a foreign land had done this deed sufficed to set the German propertied class in motion against the little knot of German anarchists, but still more against the detested Social-democratic party.

There fell, about this time, from a royal mouth, in southwest Germany, the expression that the hour had now come "to beat the general grand march" against social democracy. And at the convention of the national liberal party in Frankfort-on-the-Main, in September of the very year, it was decided, behind locked doors, to implore the government to proceed with a sharpening of the general laws against the social democrats, if not with the new anti-socialist law. That was done. It certainly contributed much to the fall of Caprivi that he was of the opinion that any law against the socialists would do more harm than good. He held in this respect a view which in 1890 was the emperor's likewise. But this view ceased to be shared by the final authorities, and when Count von Caprivi fell, it was Prince von Hohenlohe who came before the Reichstag with the so-called Revolution Bill. In full session as well as in committee we did all we could to prevent the enactment of the measure. The Roman Catholic party, however, was dominated by the idea of utilizing an increased severity of the criminal laws to reach the so-called intellectual fathers of revolution—the liberal professors with their caustic and partly atheistic observations. The ultramontanes on the committee, with the conservatives, succeeded in putting the government's demands through with slight modification. At the same time new features were incorporated into the Revolution Bill, which

it was hoped would strike emancipated science. On this obstruction the Revolution Bill went finally to pieces. In the face of the stormy opposition of the entire learned and cultivated world, supported by the liberal bourgeoisie, the government had at last to withdraw the bill.

But the desire to dance on the democracy's corpse remained. When the Geneva assassination occurred, in September of the present year, our enemies thought they had gained the upper hand. A few days after the murderous deed, which, as may easily be realized, filled the whole civilized world with consternation, that famous telegram of the capitalist magnates to the emperor, calling for new laws of an exceptional nature, was passed. It ran:—

"The dreadful deed by which her Majesty the Empress of Austria has fallen a victim, reveals by fresh and frightful evidence the goal of anarchy and of all agitation tending in its direction. The profound commotion of our hearts attests that we are one with your majesty in the sense that our duty is to oppose with the sternest statutory measures the attempt to destroy our religion, our love for our noble dynasty, and our love of fatherland. We, the undersigned representatives of German industry, venture therefore with profound deference to give the assurance that we are faithful to your majesty in the struggle against the ruthless enemies of our political and social order. With unalterable confidence in your majesty's capacity and wisdom, we shall support, and further to the utmost, all measures deemed proper by your majesty in defeating the criminal aims of unscrupulous fanaticism, and in upholding the threatened authority of the state."

This dispatch was signed by four representatives of the German capitalistic magnate class, as we may dub this element in the empire—men who stand to the fore in all efforts hostile to labor. These gentlemen speak in their telegram of the defense of "our religion." We can only smile at that. For what is the religion of these gentlemen? I fancy I am scarcely mistaken when I conjecture that these gentlemen believe in it about as much as I do, which is not at all. "Religion must be upheld on account of the people," was said once, years ago, by a very high authority. But these gentlemen do not put themselves on a level with the people. Religion is to them merely the leading string by means of which the masses are conducted

in contentment, subjection, and dependence through this earthly vale of tears.

"Love for our noble dynasty" is likewise alluded to in the telegram. That made me think of an article that appeared in 1892 or 1893 in the *Kolnische Zeitung,* whose columns supply these gentlemen with their daily political wisdom. At that time a property tax bill was before the Prussian Landtag. When Von Miquel was shaping the tax laws along more rational lines, he saw that a strict property declaration would be required if the bourgeoisie were to be kept from whistling the treasury down the wind too thoroughly. The result was that the income tax law was followed by a bill to create the so-called total property tax—that is, a moderate tax based upon a compulsory declaration of a man's entire assets. The bourgeoisie were not hard hit by the bill. The property tax, compared with that levied by many Swiss cantons, is extraordinarily low. Yet this measure sufficed to rouse the *Kolnische Zeitung* into fierce opposition. It declared that if such bills were passed by the Prussian Landtag, men would be forced to revise their monarchical convictions. [Laughter.] These gentlemen even discovered that they might eventually find themselves republicans. [Laughter.] They were but rational monarchists—monarchists, that is to say, only because that form of government was most conducive, for the time being, to the advancement of their own interests. Thus did the love of our "noble dynasty" once more assert itself among the bourgeoisie.

And how about the fatherland, that is so often in the mouths of these men? Was not Herr von Hassler, who is the magnate of Germany's textile industries (and who signed the telegram to the emperor) the very one to oppose in 1871—like the Social-democratic party, although from different motives—the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, because he dreaded the competition of the Alsatian textile industries? And it is notorious that every socialist or democrat who then opposed annexation was regarded as a traitor to his country. Yet Herr von Hassler and the German textile magnates were opposed to it, too. Their love of fatherland must, therefore, have gone to sleep at the bottom of their money-bags. All these fine assurances are but hollow mockeries. They simply serve the purpose of making faction in order that the German working classes may

be fettered politically, and in order that they may be put out of the economic position that would enable them to fight successfully their battle with capitalism. That is the secret lurking behind yonder telegram.

Precisely such tactics were employed in 1878, when efforts were made to have it appear that the bloodthirsty Hödel and the unprincipled Nobiling belonged to our party. Then, too, it was their wish to make the laboring people helpless, in order more conveniently to carry out that great scheme for robbing the working classes—the new policy of protective tariff. With perfect justice did the court chaplain's paper say of the dispatch then forwarded by the capitalist magnates: "The men who sent such a telegram wanted to exploit their own egoism."

Another business these gentlemen have gone into is that of flinging anarchists and socialists into the same vat. Without letting myself be drawn now into a theoretical discussion of the differences between socialism and anarchy, the mere fact that the adherents of these two movements confront one another in the bitterest hostility, must convince every rightly thinking man that socialism has nothing in common with anarchy, and vice versa. If in Proudhon, Max Stirner, Bakunin, and others, the anarchists behold their intellectual fatherhood, we, on our part, give that recognition as socialists to Marx, Engels, and Lassalle, who always stood in direct opposition to the anarchists. Seldom have two men presented such a striking contrast in all their points of view as Bakunin, who may be styled the father of the propaganda by deed, and Karl Marx, the sworn enemy of every policy of conspiracy and assassination—Bakunin, representative of the most extreme individualism, who saw in plots and in deeds of violence directed against persons in authority a means of attaining his ideal of society; and Karl Marx, who, with Engels, was the founder of the material conception of history, according to which the power of the individual for good or evil is but limited; thus the individual can wield power in any direction only to the extent that he acts as the representative of special class interests.

Anarchists are the extreme, though logical, development of capitalist liberalism, whose object is almost their own. Socialism, true to the Marx doctrine of the class struggle, is the

political representative of the proletariat, which, so far as it has arrived at class consciousness, has organized itself into the Social-democratic party. It aims thus at the acquisition of political power in order to establish a new social system based upon complete equality of rights and complete equality of duties.

The theory that even the most powerful individual can act only as the representative of class interests is illustrated with peculiar clearness by the character of Bismarck. No man had such good reason to hate the Social-democratic party as he, and by nobody was the social democracy more roundly hated than by this very Bismarck. Our mutual love and our mutual hate rested, therefore, upon perfect reciprocity. But in all the socialist press, and in all the socialist literature, there is not so much as a hint that it would be a good thing if this man were put out of the way. Nor in any like situation would we dream of such a thing. But how often has the capitalist press said that had this man not existed we would have to-day no united Germany. There could not be a more contradictory idea. German unity would have been brought about without Bismarck. The conception of unity and freedom was so potent with the German people in the sixties that it would have been carried out either with the Hohenzollerns or without them. The unity of Germany was not alone a political necessity. It was a historical necessity, and above all an economic necessity, chiefly in the interest of the capitalist class and its development. The conception of unity would ultimately have prevailed through sheer elemental force. Therefore Bismarck utilized it for his own ends by realizing it in his own fashion in the interest of the Hohenzollerns, and in the interest, likewise, of the capitalist class and of the landed aristocracy. The proof of this compromise is to be found in the German conception of the empire, which seeks primarily to reconcile the interests of these three factors. But even a Bismarck was forced to give up his post at last. What a misfortune for Germany, said the press dominated by him. Well, what has happened to Germany since then? Bismarck could not have governed it otherwise than it has been governed.

The basic conception of the comparatively insignificant part which the individual plays in history distinguishes us from the

anarchists. Anarchy is, as I said, individualism carried to its logical extreme. No one has shown this more clearly than Stirner in his book, "The Individual and His Property." This notion of the importance of the individual, carried to an extreme, is responsible for the fact that men who do not think clearly, who are easily led by passionate conviction, or who are susceptible to alien and dubious influences and suggestion, suddenly attack isolated individuals in important posts, because they hold such individuals responsible for the evils of society.

Only thus can the notion arise that when an influential individual has been put out of the way a grand and heroic deed has been done for the emancipation of the human race. And to this notion in diseased brains is allied the kindred idea that it matters little what individual be struck down, provided only he belongs to the highest governing class.

If this brainsick notion were not dominant in Luccheni, how could he have murderously assaulted a lady who had never played a political part, who in contrast to many other royal ladies shunned politics, for whom every one must have felt a peculiar respect, because she was intellectually so much above the average of royal ladies, and honored one poet, Heine, as only a social democrat could honor him?

But it would be in the last degree unjust to hold all anarchists responsible for such a deed. The anarchists have reproached us for seeing the hand of the police in every assassination. The *Socialist,* which on this account also calls us reactionaries, speaks exactly in this very tone. It says: "We anarchists would do well to assume a critical attitude toward all assassinations and assassination conspiracies that the future may bring forth. We are separated from the reactionaries and from the social democrats, so far as the latter are not to be regarded as reactionaries themselves, in one particular. We do not look at things from points of view which take politics into account. We have rather but a single concern—that of truth."

That this paper should call us reactionaries does not disturb me. The forces of reaction have handled us "reactionaries" without gloves. Herr von Puttkamer has actually dubbed us revolutionists in frock coats and pantaloons. He has said that Johann Most is far less disagreeable to him than

we are. I am pleased to think so. If we had done what Most ventured from the safe vantage-ground of a foreign city, we should have provided Bismarck and Puttkamer with a dainty morsel. The article in the *Socialist* on the Luccheni crime is extremely clumsy. If it should come about that a bill dealing in an exceptional way with crimes of violence is presented to the Reichstag, I will wager a thousand to one that this article in the *Socialist* supplies the basis of the measure. But let me tell you, gentlemen of the anarchist movement, that no one can talk themselves to perdition so well as you. How can you put such weapons into the hands of the enemy? You must be woefully lacking in experience still. You will say there is not the slightest harm in it. But people read between the lines. And in *The New Life,* also an anarchistic organ, but one quite unfamiliar to me, it is asserted that the Nederwald assassination was planned by anarchists. It is also asserted that only out of cowardice do the social democrats repudiate all connection with anarchy. That seems to me very judicious. If the writer of that article sat in the great red government house on Alexander Place, he could not have written it more suitably for his purpose.

In view of facts like these it is appropriate to draw clear distinctions between the anarchists and ourselves. But it would be unjust to infer from such press outbursts as we have been considering that German anarchists are disposed to plot assassination.

What do our German anarchists now regard as their chief task? To form the workers into associations and organize coöperative unions, to which they attribute a marked influence in the sociological field. I do not hold that view. Necessary and useful as associations may be, we all agree that of themselves they accomplish nothing. The same is true of the coöperative unions, which, however, do a certain amount of good, provided always they are properly managed. I am not opposed to their formation, but I make no efforts to bring them into existence. Thirty-five years ago I founded a coöperative union, and subsequently vowed never to do such a thing again. But nothing can be said against coöperative unions as such. Many social democrats, especially in Saxony, belong to them, even though they afford no economic cure-all. But to say of people

who want to found associations and coöperative unions that they are planning assassination is most infamous slander.

We appreciate the law of evolution. Natural as is the longing of the toiling masses to be freed from want and from political and economic oppression to-day rather than to-morrow, we know that our end cannot be gained until the general evolution—which we seek to further by organizing the working classes for the coming struggle—is so far advanced that our power is strong enough to revolutionize society. From this point of view we may and shall regard as foes and stoutly antagonize powerful individuals who oppose us. Never, however, could we entertain the notion that the putting of such individuals violently out of the way would result in a decided step forward for us. The exact opposite would be the case. Reaction would gain the upper hand. Such we see is the outcome of assassination in Italy, France, Belgium, Russia, and, by no means last, in Germany.

Our capitalistic opponents should be the very last to cherish indignation against the anarchists. The theory of the preponderant influence over the course of history exercised by powerful individuals in high position is wholly of capitalist origin. The belief that putting a powerful individual out of the way is a great event historically has derived encouragement from no class more than from the propertied one. The rule holds good from the days of the ancient Greeks to our own. Harmodius and Aristogeiton, who slew the tyrant Hipparchus 514 years before Christ, are proclaimed to-day in the colleges as heroes and saviors of the people. Let me also recall Marianna, the famous Jesuit, who stated the circumstances in which an individual is justified in taking the life of a tyrant, as he styles a prince who governs absolutely at his own will and pleasure. The work in which these views are set forth is entitled "De Rege et Regis Institutione," and was burnt in 1609 by order of a Spanish court. The Jesuit regarded every prince who proscribed the Catholic Church and its ministers as a tyrant. And how does Schiller view the deed of Tell? And what was this Tell—the Tell of the poem? A murderer who from a place of safety shot down Gessler, whom he looked upon as the enemy of his country and the cause of his own oppression. Gessler was a tyrant in the sense that all absolute princes

are tyrants in the eyes of the tax-paying propertied classes. I would mention, too, Schiller's poem beginning with the lines :—

> "To Dionysius, tyrant lord,
> Stole Damon with the hidden sword."

Not a line in this poem indicates that Schiller condemns Damon for his course. On the contrary, he is praised for his heroic courage and for the lofty motive of his conduct.

I have here a list of the assassinations perpetrated during the last hundred years. [After enumerating and commenting on these assassinations, the speaker continued.]

No class, no rank in society is exempt from the reproach of having furnished assassins. But all the assassinations have been absolutely without influence upon the progress of events. Things took their course regardless of them.

What good was done by the general slaughter and the tyrannicide of the French republic? Louis XVI was certainly a blameless little man, yet he and Marie Antoinette had to lay their heads upon the block charged with being tyrants. Hundreds of nobles and priests followed them to the guillotine. But all these murders and massacres could not prevent the restoration of the monarchy. The priests gained such power as they scarcely ever wielded before. One thing, however, the restored Bourbons, supported by the bayonets of all Europe, could not change—the new social order brought about by the French Revolution, partly by the division of the estates of the absconded nobles and clergy among millions of the peasantry, and partly by the great civil code that became the model of all progressive states on the European continent. Thus it was that feudalism went down. Thirteen years after the restoration of the Bourbons they had to get out of France again, never to return.

Change the social system from its foundations upward, rear an appropriate political superstructure, and opponents may be allowed to keep their heads on their shoulders in peace.

It is beyond dispute that there are anarchists who attempt assassination. Caserio's deed was a genuine anarchist crime, as was the act of Luccheni. But this does not preclude sus-

picion that people stood behind Luccheni, made use of his simplicity, and urged him to his deed. Reinsdorf, too, who made an attempt upon the assembled German princes at the dedication of the Nederwald monument, was a genuine anarchist. That did not prevent the police factotum, Weber Palm, from mixing himself up in the proceedings and taking part in the preparations of the conspirators. I may add that the assassination was to be effected by means of self-acting dynamite that had been previously tested in Elberfeld. There an attempt was made to blow up a restaurant, but it failed because the dynamite was good for nothing. [Laughter.] In the Nederwald the rain luckily put the fuse out.

Let us now consider the many occasions on which the police have participated in assassinations and in attempted assassinations during the past century. When Bismarck was envoy at Frankfort-on-the-Main he wrote his wife: "The police, for want of facts, lie and exaggerate wildly."

Police agents are hired to ferret out projected assassinations. Doubtful characters are found among them—good ones do not accept such posts—and the thought presents itself: since other people do not plot assassination, we must supply the deficiency. If they cannot report that something is going on they will appear superfluous, and that, naturally, they do not want. So they mend matters, to adopt a French proverb, by "correcting fortune." Or they do a little political business on their own account. It is only necessary to refer, in proof of this, to the memoirs of the former police prefect in Paris, Andrieux. He confesses cynically that he subsidized extreme anarchist organs out of the police funds, and got up anarchist conspiracies, merely to keep the capitalists in a suitable state of terror. There was also the notorious London police inspector, Melville, who labored to the same purpose. This was demonstrated by the investigation into the so-called Walsall crime. Even among the Fenian outrages several were of police origin, as the Parnell case revealed. [Bebel cited other cases in which crimes had been instigated by the police.]

What I am now telling you does not rest upon gossip and rumor. It can all be proved at any time. After such experiences as these have we not every reason to ask after an assassination like that in Geneva: Who is behind it? To be

sure, Luccheni is an anarchist. But, like Hödel, he is a man neglected from his youth, ruined and degraded by the brutalizing conditions under which he was reared. Born out of wedlock, he grew up at first in the foundling asylum, and in later boyhood was utterly neglected. He had to earn his bread from the time he was ten, now here, now there. Thus he grew into the man who allowed himself to be led into such a senseless murder as that of the Austrian empress. But the question upon which, it is to be hoped, light will be thrown at the coming trial in Geneva is: Did he do it on his own responsibility or at the prompting of others? In Geneva and throughout Switzerland, long before Luccheni committed his murder, Italian police spies of the worst sort, like Santoro, Mantica, Benedicti, and others, plied their traffic in the vilest ways and places.

In August of this year a number of strikes were in progress in Vienna, especially among the building trades. The leaders, Italian socialists, tried to effect a peace between the contending parties. They succeeded, but they were banished in the most singular fashion for doing so. Santoro and Mantica openly took a hand in these proceedings. According to our Swiss comrades, the Italian consul-general was used by them as a tool. They had the Italians harassed by the police until the latter resolved upon their banishment. But, strangely enough, the real instigators of the strike remained unmolested, and yet they must have been known to the police. Then came Luccheni's act, and a light dawned upon the police. The wretches who had been plying their calling in Geneva were studied with more attention. Significant facts came out. The records of some of them were dark with crimes previously committed in Italy, but several of them were, notwithstanding, in the pay of the Italian political police.

Is it strange, therefore, that our party organ in Berne, the *Tagwacht*, flatly asserted that Luccheni's crime was an Italian police assassination? The paper was not called to account for this statement. The record of these creatures of the Italian police shows them capable of anything evil and underhanded. Who, for instance, is Santoro? He was a police commissioner in Florence once. Bomb throwing became frequent in Italy in 1891. In Florence one night the police arrested a suspicious-

looking man who carried something hidden under a cloak. The thing turned out to be a bomb, but the cloak under which he carried the bomb was Santoro's. The man in the cloak, De Angeli, went to prison, but Santoro became, through Crispi, director of the penal colony of Porto-Ercola. There he maltreated the convicts so frightfully that a number of them died. He robbed the prisoners of their food, and appropriated the money sent to the poor wretches by their relatives. When Santoro's infamous conduct came to light, his only punishment was removal. Thereupon he served the radical deputy Cavalotti against Crispi, by betraying the latter's misdeeds. The result was that Santoro was brought up for his crimes and cruelties in Porto-Ercola and punished with eight years in prison. But he found means to get out, and went to Switzerland, once more in the service of the Italian police.

Now for Mantica. He was expelled from the corps of Italian military officers for some reason unknown to me. He tried to bribe the jury in a lawsuit in Sicily, and in February 1898 was sentenced to thirteen months in prison. He got away, too, and like Santoro went to Switzerland in the pay of the Italian police. He had intimate relations with the Italian consul-general in Geneva, Basso, who shortly after the Geneva assassination was transferred to Corsica. Mantica went about in Geneva under assumed names, lived in fine style, dabbled in journalism and roguery, and was able to send word of the assassination to Italy before anybody else had wind of it. His associates were anarchists, whom he followed up assiduously, and discredited socialists. The proceedings against Luccheni should show whether the Italian police anarchists can fairly be charged with being directly implicated in Luccheni's act. But there is no more notion of enacting special laws in Switzerland as a result of the Geneva assassination than there is in England, and this shows the vast difference that exists between a democratic country and Germany. Indeed, Swiss official circles, as well as the people, are incensed against the Italian government, which sends rascals of police agents into the country, and then has the assurance to want to lay down administrative measures for Switzerland. . . .

But assuming that Italians really were mixed up in the affair, there would be nothing to wonder at in that. It is,

unfortunately, beyond dispute that many Italians are easily incited to acts of violence. This accounts for the very strong prejudice that exists in Switzerland against Italian working men. The knife is too easily whipped out with many of them. It is well known that an uprising against the Italians took place in Zurich two years ago because one of them stabbed a Swiss to death in a trivial dispute. These and similar things happen repeatedly in Switzerland week after week. Swiss prisons are for this reason filled with Italians. Such events, regularly reported in the newspapers, account for the strong feeling against the many Italians in Switzerland, who are, however, for the most part, cheap and industrious workmen, two qualifications which recommend them to employers. But are the Italians naturally bloodthirsty? One cannot say that. But they are most superstitious, ignorant, and, as regards education, neglected. Centuries of shameful and time-honored abuses, calculated to impress the people with a sense of their lack of human rights, have made the impulse to act in their own behalf very strong with them. The man of the people therefore makes his own law for himself. He does the same when abroad, even in a land of equitable rights, because, in accordance with what he learned at home, self-help seems to him the surest. This notion of self-help is carried to the extreme of license, and has the evil consequences from which Switzerland suffers so much. It is a known fact that thousands of young Italians, in consequence of the unfortunate social conditions prevailing in their native land, are forced yearly to seek a livelihood in foreign countries. When in the fifth and sixth decades of the present century Italy achieved her unity, the great majority of European peoples hailed the fact with rejoicing, because it would sweep away in the Italian states—the States of the Church included—conditions that were a disgrace to the civilized world. The house of Savoy, in whose interest, primarily, this unity was established, seemed destined to bring about a modern order of civilization. But no European land has been governed to destruction in a few decades so effectually as the kingdom of Italy. Aristocracy and bourgeoisie together have plundered in a way that has made matters worse than they ever were before. The heavy indirect taxes collected in Italy far exceed those levied in Germany. Every

loaf of bread pays a duty in south Italy. Wages are miserable. Agricultural conditions are frightful. Whole stretches of country lie waste. The proprietors of the soil, aristocrats and capitalists both, are too slothful, too incompetent, too abject. They prefer to squander in the beautiful cities and resorts of the land the money they squeeze from the peasants and workmen. The peasant groans under the worst tenantry system imaginable by man. The land taxes yield 300,000,000 francs annually. But the poor peasant must pay them.

When conditions such as these are taken into account we begin to realize who the real assassins are. In the immediate vicinity of holy Rome, venerable seat of European civilization, lie the Pontine marshes, whose fever-breath drives life away. But the Italian government has no money to transform them into blooming pasture land. Yet the inhabitants of the land are there, for officials to plunder. To maintain a mighty army and a great fleet hundreds and hundreds of millions of taxes are levied, and they have well-nigh crushed the toiling people to earth. And at a time when conditions prevail of which it may be truly said they cry aloud to Heaven, the Italian government dares to call an anti-anarchist conference. Not the anarchists, but the Italian ministry, should be summoned to account. They ought to be in jail!

JEAN JAURÈS

THE PROGRAM OF SOCIALISM[1]

[In June, 1906, occurred the famous debate on Socialism between Jaurès, the eloquent leader of the French socialists, and Clémenceau, then Minister of the Interior. The debate was the outcome of a challenge from Clémenceau for the Socialists to supplement their destructive criticism of the ministry with a constructive program. Jaurès accepted the challenge and responded with a remarkable oration extending over three days. The first part of the speech is taken up with criticism of the measures of the ministry in breaking the recent miners' strike. The latter portion, which we give in abridged form, sets forth the entire socialist program. It was given before a crowded house, and aroused frequent interruptions and disturbances which sometimes compelled the speaker to descend from the tribune. But the speech was a triumph for the orator and made a profound sensation throughout the world as an impressive statement of the socialist position. No less impressive in its own way is the reply from Clémenceau that follows.

A biography of Jaurès and an account of his dramatic death is given in connection with his last speech in Vol. XI.]

M. Rand recalled this morning the words uttered by Blanqui in 1869: "Socialist thought is still in the critical period." Very well, it cannot abandon its rôle of critic of the evils of existing society, but I think that to the degree that the theoretical investigation of the Socialist Party is extended, to the degree that the political representation of the working class increases in Parliament, and its economic organization outside, socialism should also function as an organic force.

And this is why I have tried in a few words to sketch now and here a complete solution. In order to do this with any effect and with any dignity it is necessary that I have the complete attention of the Chamber and I ask you therefore not to interrupt me with continuous questions, anticipating my thought and thereby preventing an explanation which is only

[1] Reprinted from the International Socialist Review. Translated by A. M. Simons.

possible if it is produced in some sequence and with some liberty. ["Good, good, speak, speak."]

If then, gentlemen, I have declared that it is impossible to say with certainty how in the midst of a social transformation, in the midst of a social revolution, general expropriation of capitalist property may be brought about; whether it shall be with compensation or without compensation, this is not due to any underlying uncertainty of my thought, or to my own doubts. It is because in these matters programs, even the most clear, the most complete and the most deliberate, are subject to the force of events. ["Good, good," from the extreme Left.]

You have had a proof of this in the great French Revolution, which commenced by decreeing expropriation with compensation, the purchase of most of the feudal rights, and which at last, drawn on and exasperated by battle, proceeded to this expropriation without compensation.

And you are seeing, gentlemen, at this very moment in which I speak an analogous crisis at the other end of Europe. There is there a great assemblage, the first national assemblage of the Russian people, which is considering methods of giving the earth to the peasants through great expropriations. The directing parties of this assemblage propose to give the earth to the peasants through the expropriation, with compensation, of the great private estates. Gentlemen, it is not for them to tie the future to this formula; they will accomplish their aim if liberty is established upon a base of legal evolution; but if the blind resistance to power brings about uprisings and *jacqueries,* it is probable that expropriation will take other forms.

This is the reservation which I have made for myself. I have neither the foolishness nor the wickedness to pretend to determine in advance the conditions of the working class in the world of labor. I know and I proclaim that the right to work is sovereign and I will associate myself in whatever hour that the world of labor wishes to formulate this new society,—I will join myself with all my heart and all my mind to any effort necessary to the transformation. [Applause from the extreme Left.] But I have the right, before parliament, before the proletariat, to set forth as a hypothesis a legal transformation and a regular and peaceful evolution, because I maintain pas-

sionately that this hypothesis may be realized, and I shall work for it, we will always work for it, my friends and I—[from the extreme Left, "All of us, all of us"], and all of our forces will associate themselves with the policy of democracy and the reforms which increase the legal power and the definite means of action of the working class. It is with this thought, it is with this hope, that I invoke the authority, freely endorsed by our own reason, of all the socialist theoreticians who have, under the most diverse conditions and in the interest of the social revolution, advised expropriation with compensation. Marx, himself, according to Engels, spoke these strong words: "Even if we may proceed by compensation, the revolution will be cheap." It was his opinion that it might be possible to carry on these transactions without suspending for a single moment the productive activity of the country. What Marx has thus formulated, Kautsky has interpreted in his commentary upon the socialist platform of Erfurt, in saying, "Expropriation does not necessarily signify spoliation." In the same sense our friend Vandervelde has expressed himself, and I ask permission of the Chamber to put before your eyes the striking and powerful page which has been bequeathed to international socialism by Liebknecht:

"Social Democracy is the party of all the people, with the exception of 200,000 great capitalists, country lords, bourgeois and priests. It is then toward the whole people that we ought to turn, whenever an occasion is offered to furnish them practical propositions and projects of law of general interest, as a proof of the fact that the good of the people is our only end, and the will of the people our only law. Without violence to any one, but with firm purpose and unchangeable will, we ought to go forward on the road of legislation. Even those who are to-day enjoying privileges and monopolies ought to be made to understand that we do not propose any violence or sudden measure against the situation sanctioned by law, and that we are resolved in the interest of a quiet and peaceful revolution to bring about the transition from legal injustice to legal justice, with the greatest possible care for the persons and the conditions of the privileged and the monopolists. We recognize that there would be an injustice in rendering those, who are placed in a privileged situation, supported by bad legislation,

personally responsible for this bad legislation and to punish them for it. We expressly declare that it is in our opinion a duty of the state to give to those who may be injured in their interests by the necessary abolition of laws hurtful to the common interests as much of a compensation as is possible and is reconcilable with the interests of the whole. We have a higher conception of the duty of the state to individuals than our adversaries and we ought not to deviate from it, even when we have our adversaries in front of us."

Gentlemen, it is in this spirit that we approach the problem, and it is in this spirit that we demand of you, "How are you going to proceed to the social transformation?"

How are you going to take away from the privileged class the means of production which they control and which are in fact instruments of domination and exploitation over the mass of the proletariat?

How are you going to do it, gentlemen? You may do it without disorder, without violence, without spoliation, without confusion; you may do it by legal and social means which are now at your disposal. You have the power now, if you wish to make an end of the régime of classes, of exploitation of labor by capital, of man by man, if you wish now to apply to all capitalist property the law which is in your codes, the law of expropriation in the interest of the public welfare, by means of a just and reasonable compensation. [Applause at the extreme Left, disorder in the Center and the Right, and in several seats at the Left.]

It is for the public welfare that the mines, the forests, the great estates should no longer be the exclusive property of a minority; it is for the public good that society should no longer be divided into two classes: one class possessing all the means of production, and the other permitted to use the strength of its arms only by accepting conditions the first of which is paying tribute; it is for the public welfare that labor should no longer be a perpetual matter of struggle between capitalists and wage workers.

The other day M. Millerand, when he laid his proposal concerning compulsory arbitration and collective bargaining before this body, said that it was necessary as much as possible to put an end to strikes, which are an economic civil war. But eco-

nomic civil war does not find its only expression in the superficial phenomena of the strike. It is at the very foundation of society. ["That's right, that's right," from the extreme Left.] It is at the very bottom of the system of property which gives power to one class and compels obedience by the other. [Applause at extreme Left.] Economic civil war, social war, will continue, sometimes open, sometimes concealed, sometimes violent, sometimes quiet, but always with the same sufferings, the same exasperations, the same evils, so long as the world of production is disputed over by two antagonistic forces. There are no means (you are listening to me, gentlemen), of definitely reconciling these forces. You may palliate the conflicts, you may deaden the shocks, yet you cannot remove the fundamental permanent antagonisms resulting from just these privileges of property. There is only one way to abolish this antagonism, and that is to reabsorb capital into labor; it is so to arrange things that there will be only one possessing and directing force, and that the creative force of labor. [Applause at extreme Left.]

If ever there was an object of the public welfare, it is certainly this. If ever there was an object and interest which justified the intervention of law in the transformation of property, it is this object, it is this interest. It is we who were in the right when we said to you: after having used the law of expropriation in the interest of public welfare to the profit of capital, after having made this law serve the purpose of permitting capital to throw its railroads across the fields of the peasants and to permit capital to erect vast structures in your great cities; after having made use of this law for the profit and power of capitalists, the hour has come when you must make use of it for the advantage of labor which now demands its rights.

M. de Baudry d'Asson.—Go say this to the peasants, they will respond.

Jaurès.—Gentlemen, there are only two alternatives, whether you are blind to it or not. This transformation is inevitable. You cannot maintain the society of to-day, it is perishable, it is condemned, and it can disappear either by the brutal force of blind violence, or by the regulating and conciliating force of law; and when I tell you that it is by making use of this law

of expropriation in the interest of the public welfare, which is in your codes, that you may transform society; I am trying on my part to remove even the possibility and even the attempt at spoliation and at solutions through violence.

The compensation which may be given by society to the holders of capital, expropriated for the profit of the collectivity of the workers, this compensation will be logically determined by the nature of the new society.

To-day these values may be used by their holders for the purpose of purchasing the means of production and profit,—factories, land to be rented, titles to income; or they may be used to purchase the products. In the transformed society, when the private capital of production and exploitation will have been socialized, when the social community will have put at the disposition of the workers the means of production, then the values which have been received as compensation by the capitalists of the old order cannot be used to purchase the means of production, for rent and profit; they can be used only to purchase the products of the transformed social activity. Gentlemen, after the establishment of the law abolishing slavery, the owners of the slaves were no longer able on the morrow to use the compensation to purchase slaves. Very well, when capitalist property will have been socialized, the holders of the compensation will no longer be able to purchase either the means of production or the producers: they can purchase only the products. [Applause at the extreme Left, disorder at the Center and Right.]

You are astonished, gentlemen.

M. Anyard.—Not at all.

M. Jules Dansette.—We are not astonished, we are listening attentively.

Jaurès.—You are astonished and you have moved about as if you were scandalized at the idea that man could no longer purchase man. [Applause at extreme Left.]

[Interruptions from the Center.]

Thus, gentlemen, I reply to those who have raised the objection, "If in the expropriation of capitalism, you do not give compensation it will be brutal exploitation, and if you do give compensation, it will be the reëstablishment of capital." I reply to them that between the values of the socialist society and

the values of the capitalist society, there is, as I have shown you, this fundamental difference, that the first are the values of domination and exploitation, which are reproduced indefinitely at the expense of human labor, by rent, interest and profits, and that these others are values only for consumption and are exhausted in proportion and in degree of their consumption, thereby quickly relieving liberated and organized labor from all burdens. [Applause at extreme Left.]

By that time, gentlemen, society will have been transformed, and labor will have been freed without any violence having been done to the habits even of the privileged class. They will have before them a surplus of time which the heirs of the bourgeois revolution did not always give to the clergy and nobility, in order to enable them to adapt themselves to the new régime. Time will be given to the great possessors themselves, to the privileged themselves, to accommodate themselves to the new order, to accommodate their descendants to the new society, founded upon the equality of labor.

Very well, gentlemen, with the resources, with the social values, which will be immediately placed at the disposal of the community, by the suppression of all this which at the present time goes as interest to capital, as dividends, rents and incomes —with these social values which at the present hour exceed seven or eight billion francs a year—what will the social community do? It will undertake three great immediate reforms for amelioration of the condition of men: it will at first devote a portion of the resources placed at its disposal by the expropriation of capital to great works which will be truly of social and public interest; the multiplication of healthful and spacious lodgings, through which to draw out the multitude of mankind from the foul and dingy lodgings where capital and the tyranny of rent compel them to vegetate to-day. [Applause at the extreme Left.] It will carry to the little peasant proprietors the means of bettering their culture and of developing the fertility of the soil.

In the second place, gentlemen, by the large amounts at the disposition of society, the community will fully insure against all the risks of life, against old age and sickness, and this not alone to those who are wage workers to-day, but those who belong to this middle class, which only pur-

chases at times a little of well-being, by infinite insecurity and anguish. ["That's right, that's right," at extreme Left.]

Finally all the remunerations of labor will be immediately increased according to the demand which the workers make of capital to-day.

What other changes will it demand? It will demand that in the mines, in the glass works and in the factories that the totality of unequal wages paid to the various categories of workers be raised, but that the wages be raised proportionately, and that the least, the most humble be raised most of all.

Thus, gentlemen, the social community on the morrow of capitalist expropriation will apply itself to increasing the totality of the wages of the workers and peasants (I use the word wages for brevity), not by a leveling down of all wages to a common level; there need not be a single worker who will lose. In the great transformation which will free labor the same rule will be applied which the workers apply to-day when they formulate their demands in strikes: increase all the wages, but increase the lowest proportionately the most, and continue thus to the degree and the extent that the social productivity increases, until at last all the remuneration of labor will merge, not on the level of the low, but on the level of the high, in an indefinite progress. [Applause at extreme Left.]

. . . . . .

Gentlemen, whatever may be your judgment to-day or tomorrow upon the details of the socialist order which I have set forth and which I have attempted to define to this tribunal, you cannot deny you are here face to face with a doctrine that you may judge as daring, that you may judge as utopian, vain—

M. de Baudry d'Asson.—O, yes.

"Yes," I hear. You may judge it vain, even judge it utopian; very well, other doctrines have been judged vain and denounced as utopian by the privileged classes of past times in the day when they were going to make their appearance in history. [Applause to the extreme Left.]

But in any case, there is before you a definite and debatable solution; you are confronted with a statement which you can understand and denounce if you wish. Then whatever you

may think of our doctrines, whatever you may think of a system which declares that liberty for wage-workers and mankind is only possible through the social appropriation of private capital, I repeat, that it is nevertheless a definite doctrine which is before you: and when we speak to the proletarians, when we speak to the laborers, when we describe things to them, when we recall the evils which they endure: we shall not confine ourselves, gentlemen, to pointing out the abuses and the wounds, but we shall say to the proletarians, even at the risk of calling down upon us the animosity of the tremendous power of the privileged, which holds beneath its hand the minds of a portion even of the proletariat—we shall at least say to them: here is the explanation of your suffering, here are the roots of your evils. And it is for you to prove, gentlemen, that we are not seeking simply to irritate these suffering ones, but to heal them. Knowing well the antagonism and the irony by which any attempt to explain the new society in such an assemblage as this would be injured, I have nevertheless made this attempt; and we have been making such attempts, outside of here, ever since there has been a socialist party. But because we have done this, because we have taken this responsibility, we have the right, after having endured this ridicule, to turn ourselves, not toward the parties of reaction but towards the parties which claim to represent democracy and progress, and we have the right to demand of them, "What is your doctrine? What do you propose to do?" [Loud applause at the extreme Left.]

Yes, what do you propose to do for the liberation and organization of labor? Gentlemen, you who are listening to me from the left of this chamber, all you radicals and republicans, I call upon you to think, I address you, not in any spirit of provocation or defiance; I speak to you as a republican to other republicans; we have together done great things when we saved the Republic from the threat of militarism, when we freed civil society from the débris of theocracy. [Applause at the extreme Left.] But now that this grand work is accomplished, now that the hour has come for both of us to give all our strength, or at least our principal strength to what we both call the work of social reform, it is necessary, after the socialists have set forth their philosophy and tactics, that you explain what you mean by social evolution.

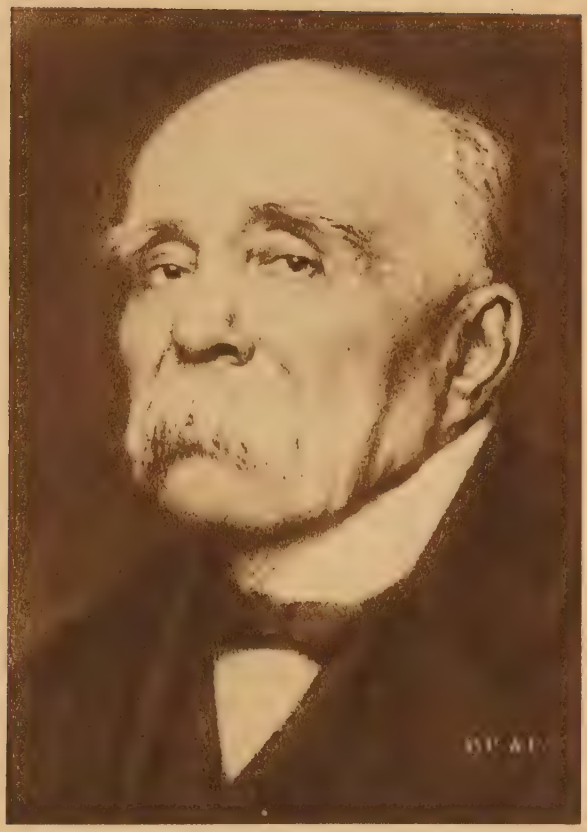
. . . . . .

In 1885 the radical and socialistic radicals, having only a minority, and held in check by the Center and Right, could not be held to account for all their social engagements. But now, through the common effort of all republicans, the Right, whether, monarchical, or nationalist or clerical, has been reduced to a negligible quantity, while on the other hand the Left, if you include those who have returned to the radicals and socialistic radicals, has a majority for the passage of any plan of social radicalism. And you, Monsieur Minister of the Interior, you, who in 1885 signed this grand promise to free the proletariat from wages, you whose friends, followers and companions in arms—many of whom, as you know, and I am proud of it, are my personal friends—have repeated this statement and this promise, you are now not only of the party in power, but as the leader of the radical party, which for thirty years you have led to battle, you have behind you a majority which has promised the country the passage of these great social reforms. You are now in power—you are now in power, not merely nominally, no longer in appearance, no longer partially, no longer through a sort of weak participation, but by the combination of the accession of a radical government, of which a majority are socialistic radicals, you have power in abundance, and consequently responsibility. [Applause at the extreme Left.]

And therefore it is now that I ask you, for the purpose of leading the proletariat out of wage slavery, for the purpose of breaking their fetters, for the purpose of freeing the producers after having freed the citizens, for the purpose of realizing the economic and social republic, as you have realized the political republic—I ask what are you going to do?

Do not tell me that the mind of man is uncertain, finding its way only by difficulties and gropings. You have said at Lyons in most beautiful language: "I am only a fallible man, who searches and gropes his way through difficulties." Oh yes, we are all fallible men, but there are hours in history where men are compelled to take sides. Such a time was that, a hundred years ago, of the great revolution, of which you are the mental and physical heir; to be sure all those men, Mirabeau,

and Vergniaud, and Robespierre, and Condorcet, were also subject to uncertainties and to errors; they opposed system to system and conception to conception, but also, even at the risk of injuring themselves, they decided, they dared to do. They knew that the old world was ended, was decomposing, that it was necessary to clear away the débris and install a new society, and at the risk of destroying themselves and of injuring themselves, they set forth, all of them, plans, schemes and systems. And it was not by the gropings of a superb modesty, but by the generosity and audacity which these statements reflected that the old world was abolished and the new created.



GEORGES CLEMENCEAU

GEORGES CLEMENCEAU

DEMOCRACY VS. SOCIALISM

[The preceding speech by Jaurés was replied to by Clémenceau in an address extending over several days and constituting a masterly criticism of socialist theory. Clémenceau's wit, irony and eloquence are at their best. A full biography is supplied in connection with the War speeches of Clémenceau in Vol. XI.]

GENTLEMEN, being personally and directly challenged by the honorable M. Jaurès I wish at the outset to render full homage to the noble passion for social justice which so magnificently animates his eloquence. In an irresistible impulse of idealism he wishes the happiness of all humanity and we are witnesses that he would spare nothing to assure this happiness.

To the chords of his lyre, Amphion modestly erected the walls of Thebes. At the voice of M. Jaurès a still greater miracle is accomplished! He speaks and all the historical organizations of human societies suddenly crumble. [Applause.]

All that man has ever conceived of a social order, all that he has wished, all that he has realized of justice beginning in pain, in sorrow, and in blood, since the day when he burst from his caverns to conquer his earth, all the secular effort for a better life, all the progress acquired at the price of a labor figured perhaps in millions of years—victory! All that resolves itself into dust, all that vanishes in smoke. And if your eye wishes to follow this smoke into the heavens, there is a new wonder; for in sumptuous clouds enchanted palaces rear themselves, whence all human misery is banished. There remains only to fix them in the air and to set their foundations among us in order that the work of Genesis be reformed forever. [Applause.]

The social evil which Jehovah could not eliminate from His work shall disappear. There shall remain to us only the evils of human conditions, and that I assure you is sufficient.

Alas! while this magnificent mirage unfolds itself before the charmed gaze of the new creator, I, vacillating mortal that I am, labor miserably in the plain, even in the depths of the valley, struggling with an ungrateful soil which doles me out a niggardly harvest. Hence the difference between our points of view which his good-will can scarcely pardon me. [Laughter and applause.]

M. Jaurès, indeed, paid me the compliment of a few floral offerings; but I soon discovered that it was for the purpose of sacrificing me more pompously on the altar of collectivism after having pronounced upon me a pitiless condemnation. [Laughter and applause.] But I do not pride myself in being one of that noble category of resigned victims who stretch out innocent throats to the sword of Calchas. [Renewed laughter and applause.] I writhe, I struggle, I rebel and when M. Jaurès explains to me that he has conceived the most unfavorable opinion of my policy, I appeal from this judgment to a superior judge, this Chamber, the exponent of a republican country.

. . . . . .

I thought that my acts would speak for me. I thought that the hour would come when I could explain myself regarding them, here in this very place, face to face with my adversaries. That hour has come, and I take advantage of it to say at the outset that according to my ideas those who act against the working class are those who encourage it in the crazy idea that wherever there is a workman who will respect neither law, nor right, there you have the working class. [Applause.] These are they who represent to it as its enemy—the government charged with the maintenance of order.

I say that those who act against the working class are those who encourage it to believe that it can do no wrong and that it suffices for it to turn upon others the oppressions from which it itself has suffered.

I say that those who act against the working class are those who retard its education, [Renewed applause] for education is not a matter of words as pedagogues profess and believe,—education is achieved by deeds. We shall know that the working class is worthy to govern the democracy, as you

desire and as I myself heartily wish, on the day when of its own free will it will conform its acts to the right which it demands. [Applause.]

Such is the education which must be given it. It learns nothing by discourses; could discourses teach the world, the Sermon on the Mount would have been realized long ago. [Laughter and applause.]

This education I attempted to accomplish; and as I said before, M. Jaurès, neither at Lens nor at Denain did I find you as fellow-laborer. I make no complaint, that is understood, but with the great and rightful authority that you have, if your word had been joined with mine, who knows how many dangers might have been avoided.

I do not say that you were wrong, but the act which I rendered at the post of duty ought to inspire you with more indulgence toward the Minister of the Interior whom you attack. You might at least credit me with this justice which I attempted. [Applause.]

Without doubt, you dominate me from all the heights of your socialistic conceptions. You have the magic power of evoking fairy palaces with your wand. I am the modest laborer on a cathedral who obscurely carries his stone to the august edifice he will never see. At the first puff of reality, the fairy palace will vanish, whereas the republican cathedral will one day rear its spire into the skies. [Applause.]

. . . . . .

Individual property, I assert, will be evolved for a long time to come; the relation of individual property and of social property will not remain as they now are; and when I say that, I say nothing that any one cannot approve.

So much is understood, the question is open, we shall discuss it as fully as you please; in the meantime I wish to brand especially the sophism upon which you have founded your right of expropriation. You have shown us both extreme wealth and extreme poverty; you have promised us that in six months you would find the means to remedy the evil you point out, and you have concluded:

"Would not this society be better, more just and more human? Reply before we launch the anathema!"

M. Jaurès, there are more than two hypotheses to submit to this Chamber; between the actual society of to-day and yours, between these two extremes, there is an infinite number of social conceptions which may be developed. [Applause.]

You make the task too easy. Admitting even that your criticisms are well founded, that present society is as bad as you say it is—and I am not one of those who pretend that it is very good, as you well know; admitting further that the society which you have conceived is actually realizable, you have omitted a point worth considering, that we have not alone to choose between the society which you promise and society of to-day. There is an infinite number of other hypotheses; and later, when I speak to you of the projects of social order which this much-abused middle class Republic has nevertheless brought about, I shall show you without difficulty that the social régime of to-day is not the social régime of twenty years ago, and that it is indeed founded upon absolutely different principles.

I cannot, therefore, admit that you give us choice only between these two hypotheses, and that you have said the last word when you say to us, "Take care; if you do not accept my project, the human mind is bankrupt."

M. Jaurès, you must not confound the bankruptcy of the human mind with the bankruptcy of Monsieur Jaurès! [Applause.]

You are carrying it, permit me to say, a little too far with men who until to-day have been your collaborators. You show us the spectacle of those divinities of Hellenism who, upon the Acropolis of Athens, struggled one day for the perfection of a prodigious accomplishment; with your imperial scepter you strike the earth and cause to emerge from it the type of the new society—these are your words—and turning toward us you say, "Do as much." Very well, it is not certain that this challenge cannot be taken up. The Alchemists sought the philosopher's stone; you hold in your hand the magic formula which ought to solve—I do not say which will solve since we do not yet know that it will—which ought in six months to solve the social question.

Very well, the clear critical spirit of modern France, which you do not appreciate because it inconveniences you at this

moment, has preserved us from these dreams up to this time. It is, however, natural that at the historical hour when the social question presents itself in all its amplitude, imaginations should give themselves free rein. That is necessary for men who dare not look destiny full in the face. The lost religions which promised eternal happiness must be replaced by the illusion of prophecies, by the terrestrial paradise about to be. Prophesy on; the generations who sleep in the depths of the future will not rise from the earth to confound you.

Is this type of ideal society which you offer us new? Who has not dreamed of future society? I am myself capable of dreaming of it with you whenever you please. Only it has not yet been demonstrated—the demonstration will be in your hands later—that this dream is in a position to occupy the discussion of a deliberative assembly. It has been the eternal subject of the dreams of all Asia; and Jesus, the last of a long line of prophets, because He thought He could achieve an entire new order of humanity through words, saw His direct disciples reëstablish, under His name the society of violence and blood against which he had protested. [Applause and exclamations.]

Your victory will be no greater than His. I do not believe that the day will come when you will have temples throughout the extent of civilized territory, where your words will daily be repeated to a throng of listeners, eager to hear them. You will not have greater success. Consider then that the material success of Christianity accomplished only the moral failure of the words of Christ, resulted that is in a state of affairs which only reproduced the old order which he had wished to destroy—allow me not to wish you this victory.

All America is still full of mystic societies which seek the realization of the City of God on earth. I have often heard in the forests of New England predictions which are not perceptibly different from yours.

In 1848 the Republic believed itself to be on the eve of the great day and we saw many builders of future cities. Recall to your mind the settings of the Constituent, and of the Legislative Assemblies, where Pierre Leroux, where Victor Considérant, where Proudhon explained, as you will soon, plans of the new society. A great number pronounced themselves

in favor of the suppression of individual property. Long before them Thomas Morus, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, had condemned individual property in terms more definite than any you could employ. These men were not inferior to you. Where are they now? Search for them. You have replaced them as others will presently replace you.

The truth is that we must distinguish two things in the social organization—man and environment. It seems more simple theoretically to reform the environment; every one goes about that at his own pleasure. But if you consider that the environment of the social organization is and can be only the product of successive human conceptions, you will see that to modify the social organization arbitrarily without troubling to find out if man is in a state to adapt himself to it can lead only to the most definite disorder. [Applause.] Thus even for those who pretend to remake the social organization, all goes back to the primordial reform of the individual.

If you reform the individual, if you apply yourselves, I do not say wholly but principally, to the reform of human personality, man will know for himself how to find the form of organization which suits him, without troubling himself about your theories, without troubling himself about the prophecies which you have made and which certainly cannot be realized because you cannot, unless you are yourself a divinity, force the result of human evolution. [Applause.]

I do not know the results of your labors, but I can say that when you have given us the form of the new society, it will remain for you to present a new man to live in this society produced in your brain. I say that man of the present day is not what you must have to live in that society. This morning in a remarkable article by M. Paul Boucour in *L'Aurore* this question was put you, which since you will reply to me, I beg you to answer, "I ask M. Jaurès whether he believes that at the present moment and even a long time from now the working class will be in a position to assume the entire direction of industrial, agricultural and commercial affairs?"

In any case your conceptions are totally defective in one point, and that is that the man whom you need for the realization of your future society does not yet exist even if your

theories might be realized. And when this man shall exist, if he ever should exist, he will employ his intelligence in his own way without troubling himself with the path which you have traced out for him. You pretend directly to construct the future, we construct the man who will construct the future and we thereby accomplish a phenomenon much greater than yours. We are not constructing a man expressly for our city, we take the man such as he is still imperfectly cleared from his primitive caves, in his cruelty, in his goodness, in his egoism, in his altruism, in the pathos of the evils he endures and the evils to which he himself subjects his kind. We take him fallible, contradictory, groping toward he knows not what better things and we enlighten him and we enlarge him and we mitigate the evil and fortify the good in him and we liberate him and we justify him and, part of the bestial régime of force as he is, we lead him toward a greater and still greater approximation of superior justice. [Applause.] And every day brings a little more of disinterestedness, a little more of nobility, of goodness, of beauty, of new power over himself and the external world. [Applause.] That is our ideal, to magnify man, the reality rather than the dream; whereas you enclose yourself, and all mankind with you, in the narrow sphere of a nameless collective absolutism. We place our ideal in the beauty of individualism, in the splendor of the expansion of the individual, in the midst of a society which rules him only to develop him more fully.

Cannot this ideal withstand comparison with yours, over which it has the advantage of being already on the way to realization?

You have pathetically invoked the example of the great revolutionists and have said to us, "Do as they did, take your part." By the controversies which we have had in the press, you can see already that in what concerns me I have taken my part, I do not say against you, but against your conceptions, against your ideas and for the society sprung from the French Revolution. [Applause.]

It is the development of this society of the French Revolution in justice and liberty which is our entire program, and this program we oppose fearlessly to your authoritative and dogmatic conceptions. [Applause.]

The French Revolution never desired the things you wish for, it desired the direct opposite, it produced the rights of man, it proclaimed the liberty and sovereignty of the individual and having proclaimed it began to realize it. And you, freed in the revolt, seek the return to dogmatic unity at the moment when it is bankrupt.

We do not need you to recall our program to us, we do not need you to ask us whether we mean to apply it. Our sole reason for being on these benches, is action, action which dispels uncertainty, action which does away with weakness, action which rules and disciplines the will of the strong.

By action we have overcome the oppression of the Church; by action we shall suppress the economic oppression of existing privileges. We have delivered the spirit, we shall deliver the body.

Have confidence, man of little faith who disregards the work of the Republic in which you were a worthy laborer. Because we do not think alike is that a reason to hate each other?

For myself, I have no dogmatic condemnation to pronounce against you, and it makes little difference to me that you have this or that idealistic conception of the future. If we understand each other we can collaborate in common political action in this Assembly, on the condition that your collaboration be sincere and complete.

Do you say that the moment is a decisive one for the radical party? We know it! But allow me to say that it is also a decisive one for the socialist party, which is not entirely unified in spite of what you say. It is necessary to make reforms or go as far as revolution. We have made reforms; we wish to continue them. Are you ready to aid us? Let us work together!

If you are willing to work with us, here is our hand outstretched to you and your electors.

If not, let each follow his own destiny. Without you we will try to be adequate for the task. We will carry bravely the responsibilities of the day and for the rest we will place ourselves before the clear justice of the Chamber and the Republican Country. [Loud applause.]

DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

THE BUDGET

[David Lloyd George was born in Manchester of Welsh ancestry in 1863. Since his entrance into the House of Commons in 1890 he has been conspicuous in public affairs. He was a vigorous opponent of the Boer war and an ardent advocate of social and educational reforms. He entered the Liberal government in 1905 and held office continuously until the election of 1922. As Chancellor of the Exchequer he prepared the famous budget of 1909, which the speech included here supports. In 1914 he was made Commissioner of Munitions, and in 1916, after the death of Lord Kitchener, became Secretary of State for War. His activities in these positions in carrying on the war won him support from his old opponents, the Tories; and he became prime minister on December 19, 1916, at the head of the Coalition government which carried the war to a successful conclusion. Retained in power by the election of 1918, he conducted the peace negotiations for England and remained prime minister until 1922.

Lloyd George is a great speaker whether in debate in parliament or before vast audiences. Though his speeches lack the elevated diction of Burke or Webster, they never lack immediate effectiveness. His popular addresses often end with perorations remarkable for their emotional power, doubtless magnified by the speaker's fervent manner and marvelous voice. He is a master of wit and ridicule and shows extraordinary skill in turning a point to an opponent's disadvantage. Several of his war speeches are printed in volume XI. The following speech represents his earlier manner in political campaigning. It was delivered in Limehouse, London, July 30, 1909.]

A FEW months ago a meeting was held not far from this hall, in the heart of the City of London, demanding that the Government should launch out and run into enormous expenditure on the navy. That meeting ended up with a resolution promising that those who passed that resolution would give financial support to the Government in their undertaking. There have been two or three meetings held in the City of London since, attended by the same class of people, but not ending up with a resolution promising to pay. On the contrary, we are spend-

ing the money, but they won't pay. What has happened since to alter their tone? Simply that we have sent in the bill. We started our four dreadnaughts. They cost eight millions of money. We promised them four more; they cost another eight millions. Somebody has got to pay, and these gentlemen say, "Perfectly true; somebody has got to pay, but we would rather that somebody were somebody else." We started building; we wanted money to pay for the building; so we sent the hat round. We sent it round amongst the workmen and the miners of Derbyshire and Yorkshire, the weavers of Dumfries who, like all their countrymen, know the value of money. They all brought in their coppers. We went round Belgravia, but there has been such a howl ever since that it has completely deafened us.

But they say, "It is not so much the dreadnaughts we object to, it is the pensions." If they object to pensions, why did they promise them? They won elections on the strength of their promises. It is true they never carried them out. Deception is always a pretty contemptible vice, but to deceive the poor is the meanest of all crimes. But they say, "When we promised pensions we meant pensions at the expense of the people for whom they were provided. We simply meant to bring in a bill to compel workmen to contribute to their own pensions." If that is what they meant, why did they not say so? The Budget, as your chairman has already so well reminded you, is introduced not merely for the purpose of raising barren taxes, but taxes that are fertile taxes, taxes that will bring forth fruit—the security of the country which is paramount in the minds of all. The provision for the aged and deserving poor—it was time it was done. It is rather a shame for a rich country like ours—probably the richest country in the world, if not the richest the world has ever seen—that it should allow those who have toiled all their days to end in penury and possibly starvation. It is rather hard that an old workman should have to find his way to the gates of the tomb, bleeding and footsore, through the brambles and thorns of poverty. We cut a new path through it, an easier one, a pleasanter one, through fields of waving corn. We are raising money to pay for the new road, aye, and to widen it, so that 200,000 paupers shall be able to join in the march.

There are many in the country blessed by Providence with great wealth, and if there are amongst them men who grudge out of their riches a fair contribution towards the less fortunate of their fellow-countrymen they are shabby rich men. We propose to do more by means of the Budget. We are raising money to provide against the evils and the sufferings that follow from unemployment. We are raising money for the purpose of assisting our great friendly societies to provide for the sick and the widows and orphans. We are providing money to enable us to develop the resources of our own land. I do not believe any fair-minded man would challenge the justice and the fairness of the objects which we have in view in raising this money.

But there are some of them who say that the taxes themselves are unjust, unfair, unequal, oppressive—notably so the land taxes. They are engaged, not merely in the House of Commons, but outside the House of Commons, in assailing these taxes with a concentrated and a sustained ferocity which will not allow even a comma to escape with its life. How are they really so wicked? Let us examine them, because it is perfectly clear that the one part of the Budget that attracts all this hostility and animosity is that part which deals with the taxation of land. Well, now let us examine it. I do not want you to consider merely abstract principles I want to invite your attention to a number of concrete cases and fair samples, to show you how these concrete illustrations—how our Budget proposals work. Let us take first of all the tax on undeveloped land and on increment.

Not far from here not so many years ago, between the sea and the Thames, you had hundreds of acres of land which was not very useful even for agricultural purposes. In the main it was a sodden marsh. The commerce and the trade of London increased under free trade, the tonnage of your shipping went up by hundreds of thousands of tons and by millions, labor was attracted from all parts of the country to help with all this trade and business done here. What happened? There was no housing accommodation. This part of London became overcrowded and the population overflowed. That was the opportunity of the owners of the marsh. All that land became valuable building land, and land which used to be valued at

£2 or £3 an acre has been selling within the last few years at £2,000 an acre, £3,000 an acre, £6,000 an acre, £8,000 an acre. Who created that increment? Who made that golden swamp? Was it the landlord? Was it his energy? Was it his brains, his forethought? It was purely the combined efforts of all the people engaged in the trade and commerce of that part of London—the trader, the merchant, the ship-owner, the dock laborer, the workman—everybody except the landlord. Now you follow that transaction. The land worth £2 or £3 an acre ran up to thousands. During the time it was ripening the landlord was paying his rates and his taxes not on £2 or £3 an acre. It was agricultural land, and because it was agricultural land, a munificent Tory Government voted a sum of two millions to pay half the rates of those poor distressed landlords. You and I had to pay taxes in order to enable those landlords to pay half their rates on agricultural land, while it was going up every year by hundreds of pounds from your efforts and the efforts of your neighbors. Well, now that is coming to an end. On the walls of Mr. Balfour's meeting last Friday were the words, "We protest against fraud and folly." So do I. These things I am going to tell you of have only been possible up to the present through the fraud of the few and the folly of the million. In the future those landlords will have to contribute to the taxation of the country on the basis of the real value—only one halfpenny in the pound! And that is what all the howling is about. But there is another little tax called the increment tax. For the future what will happen? We mean to value all the land in the kingdom. And here you can draw no distinction between agricultural land and other land, for the simple reason that East and West Ham was agricultural land a few years ago. And if land goes up in the future by hundreds and thousands an acre through the efforts of the community, the community will get twenty per cent. of that increment. What a misfortune it is that there was not a Chancellor of the Exchequer who did this 30 years ago! Only 30 years ago and we should have had an abundant revenue from this source.

Now I have given you West Ham. Let me give you a few more cases. Take a case like Golder's Green and other cases of a similar kind where the value of land has gone up in the

course, perhaps, of a couple of years, through a new tramway or a new railway being opened. Golder's Green is a case in point. A few years ago there was a plot of land there which was sold at £160. Last year I went and opened a tube railway there. What was the result? That very piece of land has been sold at £2,100; £160 before the railway was opened—before I went there; £2,100 now. Now there are many cases where landlords take advantage of the exigencies of commerce and of industry—take advantage of the needs of municipalities and even of national needs and of the monopoly which they have got in land in a particular neighborhood in order to demand extortionate prices. Take the very well-known case of the Duke of Northumberland, when a county council wanted to buy a small plot of land as a site for a school to train the children who, in due course, would become the men laboring on his property. The rent was quite an insignificant thing; his contribution to the rates—I forget—I think, on the basis of 30s. an acre. What did he demand for it for a school? £900 an acre. Well, all we say is this, Mr. Buxton and I say—If it is worth £900, let him pay taxes on £900.

Now there are several of these cases that I want to give to you. Take the town of Bootle, a town created very much in the same way as these towns in the east of London—purely by the commerce of Bootle. In 1879 the rates of Bootle were £9,000 a year—the ground rents were £10,000—so that the landlord was receiving more from the industry of the community than all the rates derived by the municipality for the benefit of the town. In 1900 the rates were £94,000 a year—for improving the place, constructing roads, laying out parks and extending lighting and so on. But the ground landlord was receiving in ground rents £100,000. It is time that he should pay for all this value. A case was given me from Richmond which is very interesting. The Town Council of Richmond recently built some workmen's cottages under a housing scheme. The land appeared on the rate-book as of the value of £4, and, being agricultural, the landlord only paid half the rates, and you and I paid the rest for him. It is situated on the extreme edge of the borough, therefore it is not very accessible, and the town council thought they would get it cheap. But they

did not know their landlord. They had to pay £2,000 an acre for it. The result is that instead of having a good housing scheme with plenty of gardens, or open space, plenty of breathing space, plenty of room for the workmen at the end of their day, forty cottages had to be crowded on the two acres. Now, if the land had been valued at its true value, that landlord would have been at any rate contributing his fair share of the public revenue, and it is just conceivable that he might have been driven to sell at a more reasonable price.

There are no end of these cases. There was a case at Greenock the other day. The Admiralty wanted a torpedo range. Here was an opportunity for patriotism! These are the men who want an efficient navy to protect our shores, and the Admiralty state that one element in efficiency is straight shooting, and say, "We want a range for practice for torpedoes on the west of Scotland." There was a piece of land there. It was rated at something like £11 2s. a year. They went to the landlord and it was sold to the nation for £27,225. And these are the gentlemen who accuse us of robbery and spoliation! Now, all we say is this: "In future you must pay one halfpenny in the pound on the real value of your land. In addition to that, if the value goes up, not owing to your efforts—though if you spend money on improving it we will give you credit for it—but if it goes up owing to the industry and the energy of the people living in that locality, one-fifth of that increment shall in future be taken as a toll by the state." They say, "Why should you tax this increment on landlords and not on other classes of the community?" They say, "You are taxing the landlord because the value of his property is going up through the growth of population with the increased prosperity of the community. Does not the value of a doctor's business go up in the same way?" Ha! Fancy comparing themselves for a moment. What is the landlord's increment? Who is the landlord? The landlord is a gentleman—I have not a word to say about him in his personal capacity—who does not earn his wealth. He does not even take the trouble to receive his wealth. He has a host of agents and clerks that receive for him. He does not even take the trouble to spend his wealth. He has a host of people around him to do the actual spending for him. He never sees it until he comes to enjoy it. His sole

function, his chief pride, is stately consumption of wealth produced by others. What about the doctor's income? How does a doctor earn his income? The doctor is a man who visits our houses when they are darkened with the shadow of death; his skill, his trained courage, his genius bring hope out of the grip of despair, win life out of the fangs of the Great Destroyer. All blessings upon him and his divine art of healing that mends bruised bodies and anxious hearts. To compare the reward which he gets for that labor with the wealth which pours into the pockets of the landlord purely owing to the possession of his monopoly is a piece of insolence which no intelligent community will tolerate. So much for the halfpenny tax and the unearned increment.

Now I come to the reversion tax. What is the reversion tax? You have got a system in this country which is not tolerated in any other country in the world, except, I believe, Turkey—the system whereby landlords take advantage of the fact that they have got complete control over the land, to let it for a term of years, during which the tenant is expected to spend money upon it in building, in developing. You improve the building and year by year the value passes into the pockets of the landlord, and at the end of sixty, seventy, eighty, or ninety years the whole of it passes away to the pockets of that man, who never spent a penny upon it. In Scotland they have a system of 999 years' lease. The Scotsmen have a very shrewd idea that at the end of 999 years there will probably be a better land system in existence and they are prepared to take their chance of the millennium coming round by that time.

But in this country we have sixty year leases. I know districts in Wales where a little bit of barren rock where you could not feed a goat, where the landlord could not get a shilling an acre of agricultural rent, is let to quarrymen for the purposes of building houses, where 30s. or £2 a house is charged for ground rent. The quarryman builds his house. He goes to a building society to borrow money. He pays out of his hard-earned weekly wage to the building society for ten, twenty, or thirty years. By the time he becomes an old man he has cleared off the mortgage, and more than half the value of the house has passed into the pockets of the landlord. You have got cases in London here. There is the famous Gorringe case. In that

case advantage was taken of the fact that a man has built up a great business, and they say, "Here you are, you have built up a great business here; you cannot take it away; you cannot move to other premises because your trade and good-will are here; your lease is coming to an end, and we decline to renew it except on the most oppressive terms." The Gorringe case is a very familiar case. It was the case of the Duke of Westminster. Oh! these dukes, how they harass us. Mr. Gorringe had got a lease of the premises at a few hundred pounds a year ground rent. He built up a great business there. He was a very able business man, and when the end of the lease came he went to the Duke of Westminster, and he said, "Will you renew my lease? I want to carry on my business here." He said, "Oh, yes, I will, but I will do it on condition that the few hundreds a year you pay for ground rent shall in the future be £4,000 a year." In addition to that he had to pay a fine—a fine, mind you!—of £50,000, and he had to build up huge premises at enormous expense according to plans submitted to the Duke of Westminster. All I can say is this: If it is confiscation and robbery for us to say to that duke that, being in need of money for public purposes, we will take ten per cent, after all you have got for that purpose, what would you call his taking nine-tenths?

Look at all this leasehold system. A case like that is not business; it is blackmail. No doubt some of you have taken the trouble to peruse some of those leases. They are all really worth reading, and I will guarantee that if you circulate copies of some of these building and mining leases at tariff reform meetings and if you can get the workmen at these meetings and the business men to read them, they will come away sadder and wiser men. What are they? Ground rent is a part of it—fines, fees, you are to make no alteration without somebody's consent. Who is that somebody? It is the agent of the landlord. A fee to whom? You must submit the plans to the landlord's architect and get his consent. There is a fee to him. There is a fee to the surveyor, and then, of course, you cannot keep the lawyer out. And a fee to him. Well, that is the system, and the landlords come to us in the House of Commons and they say: "If you go on taxing reversions we will grant no more leases." Is not that horrible? No more

leases, no more kindly landlords. With all their rich and good fare, with all their retinue of good fairies ready always to receive—ground rents, fees, premiums, fines, reversions—no more, never again. They will not do it. You cannot persuade them. The landlord has threatened us that if we proceed with the Budget he will take his sack clean away from the cupboard and the grain which we all are grinding to our best to fill his sack will go into our own. Oh! I cannot believe it. There is a limit even to the wrath of an outraged landlord. We must really appease them; we must offer some sacrifice to them. Supposing we offer the House of Lords to them. Well now, you seem rather to agree with that. I will make the suggestion.

Now, unless I am wearying you, I have got just one other land tax, and that is a tax on royalties The landlords are receiving eight millions a year by way of royalties. What for? They never deposited the coal there. It was not they who planted these great granite rocks in Wales, who laid the foundations of the mountains. Was it the landlord? And yet he, by some Divine right, demands—for merely the right for men to risk their lives in hewing these rocks—eight millions a year! Take any coalfield. I went down to a coalfield the other day, and they pointed out to me many collieries there. They said: "You see that colliery. The first man who went there spent a quarter of a million in sinking shafts, in driving mains and levels. He never got coal. The second man who came spent £100,000—and he failed. The third man came along and he got the coal." But what was the landlord doing in the meantime? The first man failed; but the landlord got his royalties, the landlord got his dead-rents. The second man failed, but the landlord got his royalties. These capitalists put their money in. When the scheme failed, what did the landlord put in? He simply put in the bailiffs. The capitalist risks at any rate the whole of his money; the engineer puts his brains in; the miner risks his life. Have you been down a coal mine? Then you know. I was telling you I went down the other day. We sank down into a pit half a mile deep. We then walked underneath the mountain and we did about three-quarters of a mile with rock and shale above us. The earth seemed to be straining—around us and above us to crush us in. You could see the pit-props bent and twisted and sundered until you

saw their fibers split. Sometimes they give way, and then there is mutilation and death. Often a spark ignites, the whole pit is deluged in fire, and the breath of life is scorched out of hundreds of breasts by the consuming fire. In the very next colliery to the one I descended just three years ago 300 people lost their lives in that way; and yet when the Prime Minister and I knock at the door of these great landlords and say to them: "Here, you know these poor fellows who have been digging up royalties at the risk of their lives. Some of them are old. They have survived the perils of their trade; they are broken—they can earn no more. Won't you give something towards keeping them out of the workhouse?" They scowl at you and we say, "Only a ha'penny, just a copper." They say, "You thieves." And they turn their dogs on to us, and every day you can hear their bark. If this is an indication of the view taken by these great landlords of their responsibility to the people who, at the risk of life, create their wealth, then I say their day of reckoning is at hand.

The other day, at the great Tory meeting held at the Cannon Street Hotel, they had blazoned on the walls, "We protest against the Budget in the name of democracy, liberty, and justice." Where does the democracy come in this landed system? Where is the justice in all these transactions? We claim that the tax we impose on land is fair, just, and moderate. They go on threatening that if we proceed they will cut down their benefactions and discharge labor. What kind of labor? What is the labor they are going to choose for dismissal? Are they going to threaten to devastate rural England, while feeding themselves and dressing themselves? Are they going to reduce their gamekeepers? That would be sad! The agricultural laborer and the farmer might then have some part of the game which they fatten with their labor. But what would happen to you in the season? No week-end shooting with the Duke of Norfolk for any of us! But that is not the kind of labor that they are going to cut down. They are going to cut down productive labor—builders and gardeners—and they are going to ruin their property so that it shall not be taxed. All I can say is this—the ownership of land is not merely an enjoyment, it is a stewardship. It has been reckoned as such in the past, and if they cease to discharge their functions, the security

and defense of the country, looking after the broken in their villages and neighborhoods—then those functions which are part of the traditional duties attached to the ownership of land and which have given to it its title—if they cease to discharge those functions, the time will come to reconsider the conditions under which land is held in this country. No country, however rich, can permanently afford to have quartered upon its revenue a class which declines to do the duty which it was called upon to perform. And, therefore, it is one of the prime duties of statesmanship to investigate those conditions. But I do not believe it. They have threatened and menaced like that before. They have seen it is not to their interest to carry out these futile menaces. They are now protesting against paying their fair share of the taxation of the land, and they are doing so by saying: "You are burdening the community; you are putting burdens upon the people which they cannot bear." Ah! they are not thinking of themselves. Noble souls! It is not the great dukes they are feeling for, it is the market gardener, it is the builder, and it was, until recently, the small holder. In every debate in the House of Commons they said: "We are not worrying for ourselves. We can afford it with our broad acres; but just think of the little man who has only got a few acres," and we were so very impressed with this tearful appeal that at last we said, "We will leave him out." And I almost expected to see Mr. Pretyman jump over the table and say—"Fall on my neck and embrace me." Instead of that, he stiffened up, his face wreathed with anger, and he said, "The Budget is more unjust than ever." Oh! no. We are placing the burdens on the broad shoulders. Why should I put burdens on the people? I am one of the children of the people. I was brought up amongst them. I know their trials; and God forbid that I should add one grain of trouble to the anxiety which they bear with such patience and fortitude. When the Prime Minister did me the honor of inviting me to take charge of the National Exchequer at a time of great difficulty, I made up my mind in framing the Budget which was in front of me, that at any rate no cupboard should be bared, no lot would be harder to bear. By that test, I challenge them to judge the Budget.

THE END